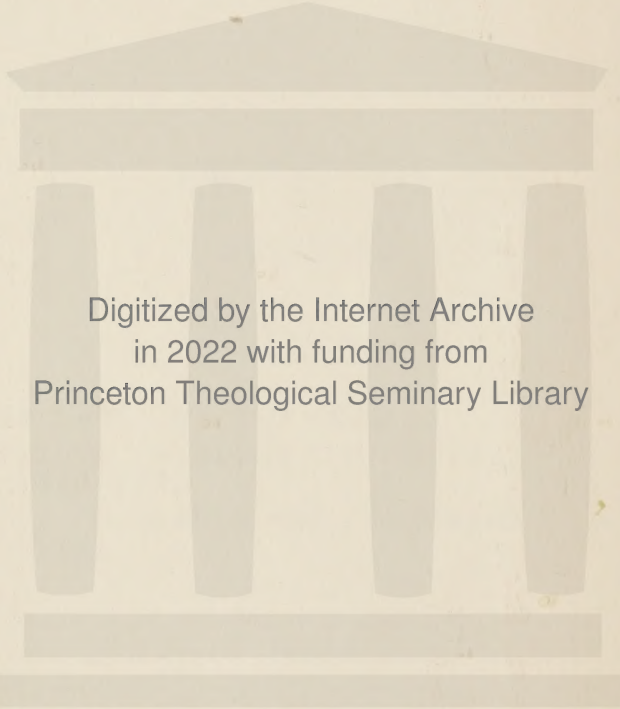


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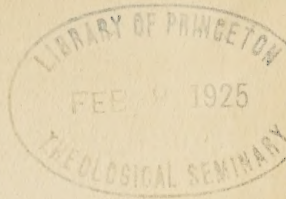
The Mozarabic and Ambrosian
rites



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XV



THE MOZARABIC AND AMBROSIAN RITES

Four Essays in Comparative Liturgiology

✓
BY

W. C. BISHOP, M.A.

EDITED FROM HIS PAPERS BY

✓
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PREFATORY NOTE

THE writer of these essays was a native of the Isle of Man, having been born at Douglas on January 24, 1854. Always a very delicate child, he was sent for a time as a little boy to a day school in the island, but the school that really developed his mathematical and other talents was Dr. Penny's at Blandford in Dorset, where he remained till he was about eighteen: for this school and its head he always retained a great affection; he never missed writing to the Doctor on his birthday, and paid him a visit not long before his death. Before going up to Cambridge, he spent a successful period of study at King's College, London, and there he became the sound Churchman that he was all the remainder of his life. One of his earliest hobbies was butterfly hunting, and he had a really fine collection. This taste he tried to cultivate in every boy friend he had, teaching them to catch and set them properly, and leading them to interest themselves in general Natural History.

He gained an open scholarship at Emmanuel College, and took his degree as Seventh Wrangler in 1876. The college elected him a fellow the same year, and he held his fellowship till 1889; his resignation then was entirely a voluntary act, due to a noble feeling that, not being in

residence, he could not do enough for the college to keep it. Soon after finishing his University course, he had a serious breakdown in health, and was sent to Davos Platz for three successive winters. After that, though much better, he was recommended to go and live in Colorado, which he did for some four or five years; there he made a great friend of Dean Hart, a friendship that lasted till death intervened. On his return to England, the college nominated him in 1886 to the patron as Vicar of Twyford, near Winchester, where he remained for two years, till the college gave him its own living of Blechingley in Surrey. This he held till 1900, and then exchanged it for the somewhat more important living of Orsett in Essex. This place suited his health much better, and, though never strong, he worked there at his best for nearly fifteen years. In both parishes his generosity in helping needy or promising cases was great, and, needless to say, never mentioned even to his most intimate friends.

Not long after the war broke out, however, he felt bound to give up the responsibilities of a parish priest, and settled at Westcliffe, in the same county. He still gave whatever personal help he could there in connexion with the church and parish, but mainly devoted himself (as he had so long done) to making friends with boys, on whom he exercised a very wholesome and permanent influence—a most valuable work which many will long remember with gratitude.

He removed to Raby Place, Bath, in March,

1920, and there died, in his sixty-ninth year, on November 19, 1922. He lies buried side by side with his much-loved brother-in-law, Canon Bevan (the devoted Bechuanaland missionary), a beautiful crucifix overshadowing their graves.¹

Mr. Bishop's liturgical researches and studies were continued throughout his adult life almost till the end. Though he was on the Council of the Henry Bradshaw Society for many years, and was highly esteemed and often consulted by all for his great learning and sound scholarship, yet the actual output of his work is remarkably small. He could never be persuaded to embark upon any large work, well qualified for it as he was, until nearly the end of his life, when he did contemplate the issue of a collection of his valuable essays (mostly articles in the *Church Quarterly Review*, corrected and added to and brought up to date), but by then it was too late: the *vivida vis animi* could no longer cope with the task. These four essays on the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites are excellent specimens of his methods, and it is believed they will be read by many besides his friends with much pleasure and profit. The first two essays were left by him very nearly in their original shape, as they appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* (October, 1906, and January, 1907, respectively); the last two had been recast and very considerably altered by him (with a view to their republication) since their first appearance in the same *Review* (April, 1911, and

¹ Most of these biographical details are due to information furnished by Mrs. Bishop (*née* Bevan of Bury St. Edmunds).

October, 1886). The present Editor has, as far as possible, given all four in the state in which their Author seems to have meant them to be republished, not very often adding words or notes of his own : but—especially in the case of these last two—a certain amount of rearrangement and even occasional rewriting of the material has been absolutely necessary : for any mistakes in so doing he must hold himself responsible. Nevertheless, with whatever success, it has been a pleasure to him to undertake the office of ‘Old Mortality’ to his college friend.

C. L. FELTOE.

RIPPLE, KENT :

Eastertide, 1924.

NOTE.—The thanks of the Alcuin Club are due to the Editor of the *Church Quarterly Review* for kind permission to reprint these essays.

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THE MOZARABIC AND AMBROSIAN RITES

I

THE OCCASIONAL OFFICES IN SPAIN

THE Church in Spain has had a singular and chequered history. In the fourth century Catholic Christianity had become the dominant religion in all the more populous centres ; but with the fifth century the conquering hordes of Visigoths brought with them an Arian Christianity, without overthrowing the existing religion which they found settled and established. In the latter half of the sixth century the conquerors yielded to the conquered, and, with their king Reccarede, gave their adhesion to the Catholic faith. From this epoch the Church rapidly consolidated itself.¹ A long series of frequent national councils legislated in the interests of the purity of the Church and the unity of its doctrine, government, and ritual ; a succession of great men, Isidore, Leander, Ildephonsus, filled the chief sees and regulated its services ; and

¹ See E. Magnin, *L'Eglise Wisigothique au VII^e siècle* (Paris, 1912).

all seemed prosperous until at the beginning of the eighth century the Moors from Africa sailed across the strait, and poured into the Peninsula. They speedily brought all its fairest provinces beneath their sway, leaving little besides the mountain fastnesses of the Asturias under Christian rule, and reducing the Christians within their newly-founded caliphate of Cordova to the condition of a subject race. It was three hundred years before the Christians of the north could turn the scale of victory so far as to expel the Moorish dynasty from Toledo (in A.D. 1085); and even before Toledo had again become the home of Christian rule, attempts were made to do away with the national rite, to abolish the majestic liturgy which derived its origin from the earliest strata of Christianity in Spain, which had been fostered, guarded, and developed by the long succession of Spanish saints, and was consecrated by centuries of persecution—for an alien rite, which their fathers had not known, but which had become ‘the general use of the Western Church,’ not by any means altogether on its merits, but partly by reason of the magic name of Rome, and also probably in some degree because in that rite the Mass could be got through in a shorter time.

The Romanizing party of that day conducted their campaign in a manner not altogether unknown in later times: they bespattered the national rite with convenient epithets of abuse, regardless of their falsity. The effete old rite was ‘Mozarabic’ (that is, it was of Moorish origin); it was ‘Gothic’

i.e. it was brought in by the Arian conquerors and tainted with their heresy) ; and an appeal was made to Rome to condemn the rite on account of heretical passages. The result of that appeal is given in the contemporary account quoted by Dom Férotin in a note on p. xix of the Introduction to his edition of the *Liber Ordinum*, where we read that the Spanish bishops, justly resenting and resisting this unprincipled attack upon the national rite, deputed three of their number to go to Rome, taking with them copies of their service-books, and there to submit them to the inspection of Pope Alexander II. They took with them the *Liber Missarum*, the *Liber Antiphonarum*, the *Liber Orationum*, and the *Liber Ordinum*—it being unnecessary to exhibit the Psalter or the *Liber Comicus* (which completed the liturgical books) as these contained only the Psalms and Canticles and Scriptural lessons used in the services.¹ The books were perused by the

¹ These books were not the later kind of ‘mixed’ service-books, such as Missals and Breviaries, in which all the different parts of each series of services are mixed or combined in one book ; but they were books of the earlier type, each of which contained the parts (often of several services) *said by one person or class of persons*. The *Liber Missarum* probably corresponded to a Roman Sacramentary, and contained the prayers of all Masses, but neither lessons nor antiphons ; the *Liber Antiphonarum* (like the Ambrosian MSS.) contained the music of all antiphons and responds used throughout the year at Vespers and Matins as well as Mass ; the *Liber Orationum* (like the *Orationale* published by Bianchini) contained the Collects for all services except the Mass ; the *Liber Ordinum* contained all the Occasional Offices as well as Ordination services, and a large number of Votive Masses. Dom Férotin gives reasons, on pages xviii, xix of his most full and lucid Intro-

Curia and the Pope himself, and were universally commended and approved. One would think that the accusers might have taken the trouble to read the books themselves before making their reckless accusation ; but when the conclusion is foregone and the object is to discover a plausible excuse to support it, it appears to be a common method to launch reckless accusations to deceive the ignorant, and to leave the refutation of these false accusations to the few who will take the trouble to investigate the facts. In such circumstances this ample vindication proved only a respite, and in the year 1089 the king issued a decree abolishing the national rite in favour of the Roman. On the protest of the people and clergy of Toledo, it was agreed that it should be permissible to say either the Roman or Mozarabic Mass in all the ancient churches of the city ; and so the rite dragged on a precarious existence, not wholly superseded—as concerns the Mass at least—until Cardinal Ximenes set himself to rescue the dying rite from an unmerited decay. It is well known how he sought out MSS. and from them

duction, for thinking that the principal MS. of which his book is a reproduction is probably the identical MS. which was taken to Rome and approved by Pope Alexander II in 1065.

It would seem that the first mixed service-books in Spain were introduced about the tenth century. The British Museum MSS. (Additional MS. 30844-6) are mixed MSS., neither Missals nor Breviaries but a combination of all the secular services—Vespers, Matins, and Mass—for the ecclesiastical year, all the elements of each service being included. An account of the first beginnings of 'mixed' Missals and Breviaries (of the Roman rite as well as of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic) would be very interesting.

commissioned Alfonso Ortiz to edit a Missal, and to complete a Breviary. The first was printed in 1500, and the second in 1502, at Toledo.

In 1755 the Reverend Alexander Lesley, S.J., published at Rome an edition of the *Missale Mixtum* with a valuable preface, notes, and appendices, and this was reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. lxxxv, at Paris in 1862 as *Liturgia Mozarabica secundum regulam Beati Isidori : pars prior*. Soon after Father Ant. Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo, published his *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica* (Angelopoli, 1770, reprinted 1804 and 1875). This prelate also issued at Madrid in 1775 the *Breviarium Gothicum*, which Migne reprinted as vol. lxxxvi (*pars posterior*) of his series.

We then come to more recent researches and discoveries. The Order of St. Benedict has always been noted as a home and nursery of learning. All students of ecclesiastical antiquities are in its debt ; and since 1900 a new series of *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica* has begun to issue forth from the Abbey of Farnborough (an abbey of the French congregation and peopled by French monks from Solesmes, although it finds a home on English soil), which has already laid the student of liturgies under an additional obligation. The first volume of this series was the beginning of a collection of all possible references to services and their details in the whole of Christian literature (including inscriptions) ; and as the volume we are about to deal with is numbered V, it is clear that this grand collection of material—a work which could hardly be

accomplished at all except by the collaboration of the members of an Order—is to occupy volumes II to IV, the publication of which is still awaited with lively anticipation. The Fathers of Farnborough deserve our thanks for undertaking so arduous a task, and not least Abbot Cabrol and Dom H. Lelercq, upon whom falls the labour of the general editorship of the series.

Volume V offers one of those delightful surprises of which we have experienced several in recent years. Again and again have attempts been made to recover some of the surviving MSS. of the Mozarabic Rite, and time after time have those attempts been baffled, although tantalizing accounts of such MSS. could be read in the works of liturgical scholars of the seventeenth century. Above all it seemed too much to hope that any MS. of the services corresponding to those contained in the ordinary Ritual and Pontifical would turn up, as all trace of such a service-book seemed to have vanished. But the unexpected has happened. The late Dom Férotin was fortunate enough to discover, from MSS. of this lost and long-forgotten work, one of them of the highest value; and in 1904 he gave to the world a magnificent edition of the *Liber Ordinum*, printed at Paris and containing the Ritual and Pontifical offices of this ancient rite, together with a very large number of Votive Masses. Since then further 'voyages liturgiques' of this learned Benedictine led him across several important Mass-books of the rite, on the careful collation of which he founded a critical edition of the *Liber Moz-*

arabicus Sacramentorum, and this now forms Vol. VI (1912) of the series.¹ Death, however, has now intervened, and to our great loss removed him from our midst.

Of the *Liber Comicus* (or Lectionary) Dom G. Morin published an edition as tom. i of the *Anecdota Maredsolana* in 1893, though some further information has accrued since, chiefly through Dom Férotin's researches, and renders a revision desirable.

Of the *Orationale*, which would complete the list, a fresh edition is much to be desired, based on the MS. at Verona (published by Bianchini (1741) in Vol. I of his edition of Tommasi's opera, and reprinted in Pinus' *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica*, Vol. II, at Rome, 1746) and collated with the copy in the British Museum 30852.

A very valuable study of *Les Anciens Textes Mozarabes* has been given us by Dom Férotin as the second part of his edition of the *Liber Sacramentorum* cited above (pp. 669-964).

We can now proceed to give some account of the *Liber Ordinum* before us.

The principal MS. of this book is very full and nearly perfect. After a calendar and a few pages of less important items, the MS. contains an elaborate series of forms for the benediction of oil, salt, and water: *Ordo baptismi celebrandus quolibet tempore*, comprising the rites of making a catechumen, *effetatio*, *traditio symboli*, *benedictio fontis*, the interrogations and the actual baptism and confirmation. After the baptismal service we find the ordination

¹ See further note on pp. 26 f.

prayers for all kinds of orders and functionaries—clerk, sacristan, librarian, sub-deacon, deacon, arch-deacon, primicerius, priest, archpriest, and abbat—but none for the usual minor orders nor for the consecration of a bishop, although the MS. was compiled for use in the primatial diocese of Toledo. These are followed by forms for the benediction of virgins, abbesses, and widows. After these ordination services follow forms for the visitation and unction of the sick, for the exorcism of the possessed, several forms for the reconciliation of penitents, Arians, Donatists, and Jews; an elaborate series of forms for death and burial of laics, children, bishops, priests, and virgins. Then forms of service for the king on going forth to battle and on his return, and an elaborate series of benedictions of various utensils and fruits of the earth, &c. After this come a series of special services connected with Holy Week—the blessing of palms and the *traditio symboli* on Palm Sunday; the stripping of the altars and feet-washing on Maundy Thursday; the veneration of the Cross and reconciliation of penitents on Good Friday; the blessing of the lamp and paschal candle, the vigil service, and the order of baptism on Easter Eve. The second part of the *Liber Ordinum* contains Votive Masses and special Ordines (fifty-six in all); but at the end of the *Liber Ordinum* proper is added a supplement (which, however, Dom Férotin thinks was written by the original scribe) containing the very interesting Mozarabic marriage rites (alas! imperfect), and three other items.

In the Appendices Dom Férotin gives an elaborate study of nine Mozarabic Kalendars which are printed in parallel columns, also essays on the sacring of the Visigothic kings, and the Mozarabic rites of dedication of churches. The work is concluded with four indices, of which the third is a complete index of all the liturgical forms not only in the *Liber Ordinum*, but also in the printed Missal, Breviary, and *Orationale*. This index alone must have been a work of very great labour ; it will be of untold value to all future students of the rite, and will lay them under a delightful though heavy obligation. We could wish that the reference had been to the pages of Lesley's *Missal* and Lorenzana's *Breviary* instead of to the columns of Migne's reprints of these books. The originals are rare and Migne's editions are common ; but since the original pagination is given in Migne, the index would have been not less useful for Migne's reprints, and would also have been available for the earlier editions. We fear it is too much to ask the makers of indices to take as their model the wonderful index to the Gregorian *Antiphonale Missarum* made by Dr. W. H. Frere for the Plainsong Society's edition of the *Sarum Gradual*.

In the Introduction, writing with a reserve due in part to the difficulty of the subject, and partly to his own modesty, Dom Férotin discusses the locale and probable antiquity of the services, &c., contained in the various divisions of the *Liber Ordinum*, and shews that a considerable part of the ritual is probably derived from the use of Toledo, and goes back

to the latter part of the seventh century. He considers that certain other portions are not later than the sixth century, and that the greater part of the prayers, &c., of the baptismal and ordination services, and of the forms for public penitence, unction of the sick, and burial of the dead, the offices of Holy Week, the *Missa omnimoda* and several of the Votive Masses probably date from a time before the invasion of the barbarians in the early part of the fifth century. Of course certain portions of the Ritual are of later date, but Dom Férotin gives a quotation from St. Eugenius of Toledo, shewing that as early as the seventh century the Spanish Church was rich in Votive Masses, and he adduces the improbability of any great literary activity in liturgical composition after the fall of the Visigothic monarchy at the beginning of the eighth century.

The above remarks will show how great an interest attaches to this service-book, the recovery of which restores so large a portion of the ancient rite of the Peninsula. It may be interesting to call attention to certain points and details of the services. The baptismal rites in the shape in which they have been preserved do not show the original form in which they were used for the admission of adults as catechumens, their instruction and exorcism in the series of services called 'Scrutinies,' nor the final ceremonies of the baptism in connexion with the Easter Vigil. We have nothing strictly parallel to the exact descriptions of the similar services of the Roman rite which are preserved for us in the *Ordines Romani* and the Gelasian Sacramen-

tary. The forms in the *Liber Ordinum* (*Ordo baptismi celebrandus quolibet tempore*) show us a later stage in the development of these services, when the normal administration of baptism was to infants, and when it had become detached from the cycle of the Church's year, and was administered at all times and seasons as required. At this stage (much as in mediaeval Rituals) the long series of the original baptismal services had been 'boiled down' into one service, but the principal prayers and formulæ had been retained from the original offices and in their original order, so that even from the later form it is still possible to trace to a great extent the general course of the original services.

The Mozarabic service begins with what was originally the admission of a catechumen — the exsufflation and the sign of the cross, but without imposition of hands at this point. The 'Scrutinies,' or services of instruction for the catechumens, are not represented, but we shall endeavour hereafter to call attention to the fact that in the Mozarabic Breviary and Missal (and the *Orationale* so far as concerns the prayers) we have a singularly full and complete series of these services of instruction,¹ of a type quite other than the Scrutinies of the Roman rite, but bearing a close resemblance to the ancient Ambrosian series (one half of which are still said in the Cathedral at Milan, as they were in the days of

¹ These services of instruction (*Missae Catechumenorum*) seem to be distinct from the actual 'Scrutinies.' In the Ambrosian rite the 'Scrutinies' were held on Saturdays, and the services of instruction on all other weekdays in Lent.

St. Ambrose) and also to the services used at Jerusalem in the fourth century, and the relics of the similar services enshrined in the Byzantine rite of the present day.

After the making of a catechumen in the *Liber Ordinum* there follows the *Effetatio*, with its solemn exorcism of the devil and the unction of the 'competent,' the blessing with the imposition of hands, and the 'tradition' of the Creed. (All this took place originally on Palm Sunday, the *Effetatio* at Matins [*i.e.* Lauds], the 'tradition' of the Creed during the Mass.) Then the exorcism and blessing of the font, the interrogations (both of renunciation and faith), the baptism, confirmation, vesting with the white robe, and communion.

Here are found several points worthy of note. (1) There is no 'sacrament of salt' among the ceremonies of the catechumenate, and Dom Férotin seems to show conclusively that it is a mistake to suppose that this was a Spanish custom, and that in reality it is distinctly Roman. We would suggest the possibility that the *Effetatio* (or at least the known form of it) is also an importation from the Roman rite, though an early one; the reasons being (*a*) that the rite has a very special and individual character not likely to have arisen independently at different centres, (*b*) that the accompanying formulæ in the Roman and Mozarabic rites seem identical in origin, and (*c*) that its taking place at a service such as Lauds gives it the air of a later addition to a complete series of services, already existing, for which a new position had to be found.

The true rite of the 'tradition' of the Creed would be out of place in an *ordo baptismi quolibet tempore*; it is given in the services for Palm Sunday for use at the Mass,¹ and is here replaced by an interrogative Creed, differing from the original interrogations which follow just before the actual baptism. The latter are as follows :—

Credis N. in Dominum Patrem omnipotentem? R_z. Credo.

Et in Jhesum Christum filium ejus unicum, Deum et Dominum nostrum? R_z. Credo.

Et in Spiritu Sancto? R_z. Credo.

These are preceded by three Renunciations and the question 'Quis vocaris?' R_z. N. (The name had previously been given when the child was made a catechumen.) It is interesting to remark that the first series of interrogations run in the third person : 'Credis N. in Dominum Patrem omnipotentem?' &c. (one MS. *Credet*) ; and that the answers to the second series and the renunciation questions run also in the third person in two MSS. : 'Abrenunciat hic famulus Dei diabolo et angelis ejus? R_z. Abrenunciat. Credis N. in Dominum Patrem omnipotentem? R_z. Credet, &c.

The baptism is conferred by a single immersion, and with the characteristic Gallican addition '*ut habeas vitam aeternam*' to the usual baptismal formula. After the baptism the child is immediately confirmed by the priest, who signs him with chrism and then lays his hand on him with a prayer for the seven

¹ In the Missal the 'tradition' takes place after the *Psallendum* and before the Epistle : in the *Liber Ordinum* it is assigned to the usual place of the sermon after the Gospel.

gifts of the Holy Spirit,¹ founded on Isaiah xi, but otherwise quite different from the Roman prayer. The neophyte is then vested in a white robe and receives the Holy Communion. We note with pleasure the unmistakable survival of the laying on of hands in the Spanish rite of Confirmation; and the single chrismation helps to support the belief that the baptismal chrismation by the priest in the Roman rite (distinct from the subsequent chrismation by the bishop) is really a duplication of the original single chrismation, and that the Roman rite also had originally a single chrismation by the bishop—the double chrismation having arisen when Holy Baptism began to be administered by priests and they were allowed so far to copy the bishop as to bestow a chrismation, although the actual chrismation which accompanied the laying on of hands was reserved to the bishop. Dom Férotin has one of his concise and useful notes on the custom of priests administering Confirmation: it would be interesting if we had some evidence as to the actual practice of the Spanish Church in later times. We suppose that the evidence of the MS. may be accepted as conclusive evidence of the survival of the custom down to the middle of the eleventh century.

In the directions for the communion of the newly-baptized (and confirmed) infant we find enshrined the Mozarabic words of administration of Holy Communion as follows:—‘*Corpus Domini nostri Jhesu Christi sit salvatio tua*’; and for the chalice, ‘*Sanguis*

¹ A different and very long prayer is given for use at the Easter Vigil in place of the other.

Christi maneat tecum redemptio tua.' These are to be found again, with one very slight alteration, mixed up with the prayers at placing the elements on the altar before the beginning of the Mass, in the *Missa omnimoda* as given in MS. A, to which we shall presently return. (Communion in both kinds, at least as the normal rule, survived everywhere as late as the date of this MS.)

This would appear the most natural place for the rites of marriage; but these were not part of the original MSS., and find a place only in an Appendix—one, however, which, as we have seen, Dom Férotin thinks was very possibly written by the original scribe, Bartholomew the priest. Though of considerable interest, they are unfortunately imperfect. The part remaining begins at the end of Matins, and it is very possible that the form of taking one another for husband and wife and vowing fidelity, with corresponding questions, may have preceded Matins or even Vespers on the previous evening, and the whole have been included in the last leaves of the MS. After Matins comes the blessing and exchange of the rings. At the end of the Mass (which is to follow here), and before the dismissal, the bride and bridegroom approach the screen or rails and the girl is handed over to the priest, who veils her. The pair being placed under the canopy, the priest blesses them both and the bride separately, and gives her to the man, afterwards communicating them both.

The *Ordo ad visitandum et unguendum infirmum* is by no means an office for the dying; the main object

of the unction is evidently the cure of the patient, and the healing of the diseases of the soul is connected and parallelized with the healing of the infirmities of the body.¹

The very elaborate forms of burial are curious ; many expressions in the prayers are very rich and beautiful. Only here and there are to be found any expressions which could possibly imply penal torment, and most of the language seems only too much in the other direction and more suited for a departed saint than for an ordinary sinful Christian.

Dom Férotin thinks it very possible that the service for the Blessing and Procession of Palms (including a procession from one church to another) may date from the seventh century and be the oldest surviving form of the service. All the special services for Holy Week show considerable differences from even the original Gothic portions of the forms of these services remaining in the Missal—*e.g.* the Penitential Reconciliation on Good Friday is much shorter than that given in the Missal (and ably described by Mgr. Duchesne in *Origines du Culte Chrétien*²), and seems to be plainly an abbreviated form—and it appears that in several points the Gothic original underlying the corresponding portion of the Missal is the more authentic. The form of the *orationes solemnes* which are intercalated between the lessons at the Easter Vigil, as given in the Missal, is, however, very inferior to that of the *Liber Ordinum* and the *Orationale Gothicum*. For the

¹ See Rev. F. W. Puller, *Anointing of the Sick* (S.P.C.K.).

² Chap. xv, *sub finem* (pp. 442 ff., 4th Engl. Edn.).

actual blessing of the font and the baptismal service at the Vigil we are unfortunately referred to the *Ordo baptismi quolibet tempore*.¹

[¹ This looks as if our author thought that these forms were different at the Easter Vigil from those at other times. We do not gather that they were from Dom Férotin's notes *in loco*, nor does it seem quite likely.—ED.]

II

THE MASS IN SPAIN

THE second part of the *Liber Ordinum* consists of a collection of about fifty Votive Masses; and at the head of the collection is given an *Ordo Missae omnimodae*, in which are supplied the invariable parts of the Mass and a (practically complete) set of variable parts belonging to it, so that the whole is thus a kind of equivalent to the 'Ordinary and Canon' of the Roman Mass—or '*Omnium Offerentium*,' as the Mozarabic equivalent is called. In this *Missa omnimoda* are preserved several interesting features; but since it is only an edition of the *Omnium Offerentium* adapted for Votive Masses, some of the ancient features of an ordinary Mass of the season or day are omitted or modified, and we shall find that on the whole the most characteristic features of the Mozarabic Mass are better preserved in the two editions of it given in the printed Missal.

The Missal gives apparently the witness not of one authority but of two. For the *Omnium Offerentium* inserted in the Missal before the Mass for Low Sunday is really superfluous. The Mass for Advent Sunday is given entire as a model Mass, much as the Mass for the Annunciation, on December 18, in the Additional MS. 30844 in the British Museum,

and the *Ordo Missae omnimodae* of the *Liber Ordinum*; and the other *Omnium Offerentium* is not wanted at all. Again, the latter *Omnium Offerentium* is inconsistent with the Missal in more points than one.¹

It will be remembered that in the Mozarabic chapel the tradition is kept up to the present time that two books should be used for the Mass, the one for the constant parts, the other for the variables. We would offer the suggestion that the second O. O. in the Missal may have been derived from one of the MSS. containing the constant parts; and that the variable parts for St. James' Day may have been inserted in it because in some churches the Mass for St. James' Day was the only Mass which remained in use.

The simplest method of exhibiting the original character of the Mozarabic Mass² will be to give the complete Mass of one particular day as an example, utilizing both the Mozarabic Missal, the *Liber Ordinum* and also certain very valuable materials

¹ It prescribes *Benedicite* for general use at every Mass, whereas in the *Omnium Offerentium* included under Advent Sunday *Benedicite* is not given for general use, but it is prescribed under the First Sunday in Lent apparently for use during that season. The version of the hymn is not the same in the Missal and in the latter *Omnium Offerentium*; the prayers after *Gloria in excelsis* do not agree, and the position of the *Sacrificium* is different.

² On everything connected with the Mozarabic Mass Lesley's notes (in his edition of the Missal—reprinted in Lorenzana's edition and in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*)—are a mine of learning and (which is more rare) of a singular penetration and judgement. Would that he had completed his design by a parallel edition of the Breviary!

gained from the Gallican and Celtic Missals.¹ We must ask the indulgence of our readers for several details of 'restoration' which we are obliged to insert without note, as we are unwilling to weary the reader by constantly calling attention to trifling details of the kind : those who are familiar with the common texts will easily recognize any divergences from it. In the rendering we have taken a large—perhaps an unwarrantable—licence ; the text is in places dubious or crabbed to a degree, and we have preferred to exhibit the prayers in an intelligible form to offering a pedantically exact translation.

¹ In treating the Mozarabic Mass it is impossible to exclude consideration of the Gallican Mass, for this was but a variant of the same rite ; and the same may be said of the (original) Celtic Mass. Indeed, this rite (so far as our information goes) seems to have been originally the rite of the whole of the Latin Church, with the exception of the city of Rome and its immediate environs. Even in Africa, the Lectionary which underlies St. Augustine's sermons is clearly of a Gallican and not of a Roman type : the same may be said of the liturgical fragments preserved in quotations ; and the only point in which the African liturgy clearly agreed with the Roman as against the Gallican was the position of the *Pax* after the Consecration. See article on *People's Prayers*, by Dom Connolly, *J. T. S.* xxi.

Mgr. Duchesne, in *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, has attempted to solve the problem as to whence the Gallican liturgy spread into Gaul and Spain, but we venture to think that he has altogether mistaken the nature of the problem. The 'Gallican' rite was the original rite of the West, and its introduction needs no accounting for. If, as he supposes, it was introduced into the West only at the end of the fourth century, the question immediately arises, 'What rite did the Christians use before that date ?'—a question without an answer, for it is absurd to suppose that there was any other earlier rite in these parts.

The Mozarabic Mass (and we suppose all other liturgies) began originally with the *Lessons*; and on fast days it still does so. By the time of St. Germanus of Paris (A.D. †575), however, the Lessons on Sundays and festivals were preceded by a series of chants, of which those ordinarily in use in Spain were the *Antiphona ad praelegendum* (Introit) and *Gloria in excelsis*, during the former of which the clergy entered the presbytery. At Paris the customary chants were the *Antiphona*, *Trisagion*, threefold *Kyrie eleison* and *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. *Gloria in excelsis* (or *Benedictus*)¹ was usually followed by a Collect.

The Lessons of the Mass may be classified as (1) Sapiential, (2) Historical, (3) Prophetic, (4) Psalm, (5) Acts or Epistle and (6) Gospel. The first two

¹ In the Mozarabic Mass for Easter Day, after *Gloria in excelsis* a farced form of the *Trisagion* in Latin is ordered to be said. [The chant *Sanctus Deus archangelorum* mentioned in the second letter of St. Germanus as being used in Lent is probably the same (or a similar) farced Latin *Trisagion*.] On the Sunday before the Nativity of St. John Baptist, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* is to be sung after *Gloria in excelsis*. In the *Sacramentarium Bobiense*, *Gloria in excelsis* is given for use, but certain of the succeeding collects presuppose *Benedictus* as the chant originally used—as described in St. Germanus' first letter.

Whence were these chants derived? *Trisagion* is certainly Byzantine, as probably are all forms of the *Agyos* or *Sanctus* except the *Sanctus* in the *Illatio*. The Creed also was introduced in imitation of Byzantine custom. Is it possible that these chants before the Lessons were introduced in imitation of the Byzantine three antiphons? In the Roman Mass *Gloria in excelsis* is an incongruous addition. Did the Roman borrow this hymn from the Mozarabic, or *vice versa*?

of these (Sapiential and Historical) are used only in Lent and on other fasting days, but the complete scheme carries us back to the days of the early Christian synagogue, when the Lessons from the Law and the Prophets were followed by the Psalm and the Epistle and finally by the Gospel. Some such series of Lessons seems to have been the foundation of all existing Lesson-systems, except possibly in Egypt; and in one liturgy and another we can find traces of the gradual dropping of first the Lesson from the Law and then the Prophecy, until at the present time Lessons from the Law and the Prophets have practically disappeared from ordinary view both in the East and in the West.¹

¹ The Lessons from the Old Testament have not been eliminated altogether from either the Roman or Byzantine liturgies. In the former, Prophetic Lessons are read on all the weekdays in Lent, when the Epistle is dropped; and also (in addition to an Epistle) on Ember Days and the greater vigils. In the Byzantine rite the Old Testament Lessons are now confined to the *Missae Catechumenorum*, which are incorporated with Sext and Vespers in Lent. In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II, we find directions for two Lessons from the Historical and Sapiential or Prophetic books of the Old Testament, followed by Psalm, Acts, Pauline Epistle, and Gospel; in Book VIII we find similar directions for Lessons from the Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels. In the present Jacobite Syrian liturgy Lessons are read from the Law, Sapiential books, Prophets, Acts or Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Gospels. In the Nestorian liturgy we find a very similar system. There are, besides the Psalm, Lessons from the Law, Prophets, Acts, Pauline Epistles, and Gospels; but Acts is read only during Eastertide and on Saints' days, and in the existing Lectionaries the general tendency towards uniformity has apparently operated to the exclusion of the Lesson from the Law whenever there is a Lesson from the Acts, so that there may be

The Psalm which occurs among the Lessons (normally after the Prophecy) is in all liturgies undoubtedly the oldest of the Mass-chants. The Introit and the Communion-anthem were introduced about the end of the fourth century, whereas the Gradual or its equivalent almost certainly traces its origin to the same source as the Lessons, viz. the synagogue. It is, we believe, always a Respond, *i.e.* a solo with accompanying refrain, and was sung originally in the ambon where the Lessons were read.

In the Mozarabic (and Gallican) Liturgy this Psalm was accompanied by the canticle *Benedicite*—in one or other of its various forms, but its use was by no means constant and appears to have been subject to much variation.¹ After the Gospel came

always the same number (four) of Lessons. On feasts of the B.V.M., however, all five Lessons are still retained. (See a complete table of these Lessons at the end of Maclean's *East-Syrian Offices*.) The Ambrosian Lectionary is only a special case of the Gallican.

¹ The use of *Benedicite* was required at all Masses by the XIVth Canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), some priests having omitted it on Sundays and Saints' days, although retaining it, apparently, on other occasions. It would seem as if the desire for brevity was too strong to be resisted, so that the canon was very generally disregarded. The *Omnium Offerentium* bound up with the Missal gives a short form of the hymn with no hint that it is ever to be omitted: the complete order of the Mass as given for the First Sunday in Advent does not contain it at all, but another form of the hymn is given in the Mass for the First Sunday in Lent, apparently for use throughout the season, and on Easter Day there is a rubric that the priest may use it if he pleases. (The reference to the *Omnium Offerentium* may very possibly have

the anthem called *Laudes* (wrongly given as *Lauda* in the printed Missal), the Sermon, and after this the Dismissal of Catechumens and Penitents. The Dismissal of Penitents is retained in the Missal during Lent, the Reconciliation taking place on Good Friday.

We come now to the 'Missa Fidelium.' This commences (as Mgr. Duchesne has pointed out) with the *Processio Oblationis*: i.e. the elements prepared beforehand were brought in a solemn procession to the altar during the singing of an anthem called in the Mozarabic Liturgy *Sacrificium*. This is followed by the 'seven prayers,' as they are called by St. Isidore,¹ viz. the *Missa, Alia Oratio, Post Nomina,*

been added when the O. O. was bound up with the Missal.) All these seem to indicate that it had been dropped on ordinary occasions. The omission of the hymn from the *Missa votiva omnimoda* in the *Liber Ordinum* points also in the same direction, and its use in the Gallican rite of Paris and Luxeuil presents a close parallel. St. Germanus describes *Benedicite* as used between the Epistle and Gospel, and, apparently, at all seasons, but in the Luxeuil Lectionary its use is only occasional; for it is there prescribed on Christmas Day *before* the Epistle, and on Low Sunday *after* it. Its use is also alluded to '*primo die Sanctae Paschae*,' which may mean on Easter Day, or might mean on the Easter Vigil, where it would be attached as usual to the lesson from Daniel iii.

¹ Is it possible that in this well-known passage relative to the 'Seven prayers' (*De ecclesiasticis Officiis*, Lib. i, cap. 15) St. Isidore is retailing a description already traditional? In this passage the *Post pridie* is described as the '*conformatio sacramenti*' (which is practically equivalent to *transformatio*) '*ut oblatio, quae Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum Christi corpori ac sanguini conformetur.*' This embodies the 'Eastern' idea of consecration by the prayer of Invocation, and implies a genuine form of the Invocation. Yet, in his Ep. 7, *ad Redemptorem*, § 2, he says '*de substantia sacramenti,*

Oratio ad Pacem, *Illatio* (which included the *Sanctus*, *Post Sanctus* and words of institution, and passed on into the) *Post Pridie* and Lord's Prayer. This series of prayers is not so complicated as would appear at first sight. Just as in the East a common 'devotional form' consisted of the *deacon's* invitation (or *Ectene*), the *people's* response (*Kyrie eleison*) and the *priest's* prayer at the conclusion, so a common 'devotional form' in the West consisted of the *priest's* bidding (*Praefatio*), the *people's* private prayer and the *priest's* concluding collect (*Collectio*). Devotional forms of this kind were inserted in the Gallican services at many points where it would seem natural to us to insert a Collect; e.g. a series of intercessions of this form were inserted between the lessons of the Easter Vigil, and similar devotions were used in the baptismal services. In the Mass, the *Missa* and *Alia Oratio* (called in the Gallican Mass-books *Praefatio* and *Collectio ante nomina*) were one such form, the people's private devotion in this case being replaced by an *Ectene* said by the deacon; the *Post Nomina*¹ and *Oratio ad Pacem* formed

sunt verba Dei a sacerdote in sacro prolata ministerio scilicet—Hoc est corpus meum.' In the description in question, not only is the *Post pridie* described as a true invocation of the Holy Spirit, but the '*Missa*' is still an address, and the '*Illatio*' a thanksgiving—the original character of these 'prayers' which disappeared in many of the later Mozarabic Masses. The '*Post nomina*,' however, appears to have lost already its original character as an address, and to have been changed into a prayer.

¹ The *Post Nomina* retains a trace of its original form as an address in the Mass for Easter Day. In some instances the *Oratio ad Pacem* has a reference to the oblations—e.g. on Ascension Day and

another similar devotion, although in the actual Mozarabic Liturgy the *Post Nomina* has been generally transformed into a Collect; the introduction and conclusion to the Lord's Prayer formed a third similar devotion—the Lord's Prayer itself supplying the place of a private prayer; and the thanksgiving after Communion consisted also of a *Praefatio* and *Collectio*, although in the Mozarabic rite the *Praefatio* has been generally lost. But it seems practically certain that all these devotional forms grew up around the still earlier framework of the service—the Ectene(=*preces fidelium*¹), Nomina(or Diptychs), Pax, Illation(=the Great Thanksgiving), and probably the Lord's Prayer—in much the same way as the variable collects were added to the original framework of the Roman Liturgy.

We shall now proceed to give an example of the Mozarabic Mass,² choosing for the purpose the

St. Eulalia's Day. Similarly in *M. Gothicum, primo die S. Paschae; M. Gallicanum, Missa V. de Adventu; Sacramentarium Bobiense, Missa sacerdotis pro seipso.*

¹ St. Germanus places the *Preces* before the Dismissal of the Catechumens, which would seem to carry with it the *Praefatio* and *Collectio*. This can hardly be the original position, and the Dismissal of Catechumens, though probably not of Penitents, had already become a mere form. If the position of the dismissal had been changed in some localities, can this have had any connexion with a grace allowed to certain royal penitents? (See the First Council of Lyons, Canon VI, A.D. 517.)

² [This article originally appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1907, some five years before Dom Férotin's edition of the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* mentioned on p. 7 was published. But Mr. Bishop has given no indication in the later notes that he left with a view to the publication of this and other

Mass for the Second Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany,¹ except for the prayer *Post Nomina*, and the *Praefatio* and *Collectio* of the thanksgiving after Communion, which we have taken from *Missa Dominicalis II* of the *Missale Gothicum* in order to show the original character of these prayers.

THE CHANTS

*Officium [Introit].*² The Lord is King and hath put on glorious apparel. Alleluia. *V.* The Lord hath put on his apparel and girded himself with strength. *P.* 3 Alleluia. *V.* Glory and honour be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen. 4 *P.* Alleluia.

similar articles that he wished to modify the statements he has made here in the fresh light that that important work throws upon the subject. No attempt, therefore, has been made now to introduce into his text any alterations except the slightest, which a study of Dom Férotin's book might suggest: and in the footnotes only a few references to it, which the reader may be glad of. It does not appear that the argument is seriously if at all affected by adopting this course.—ED.]

¹ [See Férotin, *Lib. Sacr.*, cols. 620 ff., in *iiij dominico de quotidiano*.—ED.]

² In the *Missa Omnimoda* (Férotin, *Lib. Ord.*, col. 230) a private prayer of the priest (*Apologia*) is inserted before the *Officium* (or *Introit*). The *Missa* so called is really an *Apologia* also, though put in place of an *Orationis admonitionis ad populum*: see e.g. p. 31 below.

³ 'P' = *Pressa*—i.e. 'Repetitio'; not 'Psalmus' (as Arevalus) nor 'Presbyter' (as Neale). Férotin gives no interpretation of this symbol.

⁴ This peculiar form of the *Gloria Patri* is commended as customary and enjoined by the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), Canon XV. It is found also in Irish and Ambrosian MSS.

The Priest. For ever and ever. *R.* Amen.¹

The Choir. Glory be to God on high, etc.

Oratio. This is our righteous one in whom we hoped and to whom in grace appearing we are come : wherefore let us beseech his clemency who vouchsafed for us to die upon the cross that he would forgive the sins of his people and deliver us from them. *R.* Amen. Through thy mercy O our God who art blessed and dost live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.²

THE LESSONS

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Deacon. Keep silence.

The Reader. The Lesson of the Book of Isaiah the Prophet. *R.* Thanks be to God.

The Reader. Thus saith the Lord : Behold I create, etc. (Is. lxxv. verses 17-25). *R.* Amen.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

Tractus. The song of the three children. The angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with Azarias and his fellows and smote the flame of the fire out of the furnace and made the midst of the furnace as it had been a moist whistling wind so that the fire touched them not at all neither hurt nor troubled them. Then the three

¹ Apparently the ending of a collect or *apologia* said privately.

² Note the curious use of 'Amen' before the customary conclusion of the Collect as well as after it.

as out of one mouth praised, glorified, and blessed God in the furnace saying 'Blessed art thou O Lord God of our fathers and to be praised and magnified for ever.' Amen. *Hymnus*. Blessed art thou, etc. [*a short form of the hymn*].

The Priest. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. R. Amen.¹

V. The Lord be alway with you. R. And with thy spirit.

Psallendum. My heart is ready O God, my heart is ready: I will sing and give praise with the best member that I have. *V*. Unto thee, O God, will I pay my vows, unto thee will I give thanks. And why, thou hast delivered my soul from death; mine eyes from tears and my feet from falling. *P*. I will give praise, etc.

The Deacon. Keep silence.

The Reader. Continuation of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. R. Thanks be to God.

The Reader. Brethren, let not sin reign, etc. (*cap.* vi. 12-18). R. Amen.

V. The Lord be alway with you. R. And with thy spirit.

The Deacon. Keep silence. The Lesson from the Holy Gospel according to St. Luke. R. Glory be to thee, O Lord.

The Deacon. At that time our Lord Jesus Christ returned in the power of the spirit, etc. (Luke iv. 14-22). R. Amen.

¹ This is probably *v.* 89 of the Song of the three Children, and not Ps. cxvii. 1, as has been too readily assumed.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

Laudes. Alleluia. *V.* Praise the Lord in cymbals and dances : praise him upon the strings and pipe. *P.* Alleluia.

THE SERMON

DISMISSAL OF CATECHUMENS AND PENITENTS ¹

The Deacon. Pray, ye Catechumens : bow your knees unto God. Let us beseech the Lord that he would vouchsafe to grant you the remission of your sins and enlightenment. [*A pause for prayer in which all join.*] Arise. Having finished your prayer, in the name of Christ say all together Amen. *R.* Amen.

Depart, ye Catechumens. [*The Catechumens go out.*]

The Deacon. Pray, ye penitents : bow your knees unto God. Let us beseech the Lord that he would vouchsafe to grant you remission of your sins and peace. [*A pause for prayer in which all join.*] Arise. Having finished your prayer, in the name of Christ say all together Amen. *R.* Amen.

Deacon. Depart, ye penitents. [*The penitents go out.*]

The Deacon [*to the faithful after the penitents have gone out*]. Stand in your places for Mass.

THE OFFERTORY ²

Sacrificium. And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord and took of every clean beast and of every

¹ The formula of dismissal of Catechumens is conjectural, being based upon that for the dismissal of Penitents in the Missal.

² The private prayers at the Offertory (as all the other private prayers except an *Apologia*) are no part of the original rite, and are therefore omitted.

clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar : and the Lord smelled a sweet savour. Alleluia. *V.* And the Lord spake unto Noah saying : Go forth of the ark, thou and all thy kindred and every living thing that is with thee of all flesh, both of fowl and of cattle and of everything that creepeth upon the earth : be fruitful and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went forth. *P.* And he offered, etc. . . . savour. Alleluia.

[*Collection. The oblations are brought in in solemn procession, placed on the altar and censed. The priest washes his hands.*]

THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

Missa. Beloved brethren, since we believe that we are drawing nigh to God let us put away all thought of pleasing men. Though we cannot offer to God any sacrifice worthy of his acceptance, let us bring to him at least the sobs and tears of penitence. We ought not to stand here without shame as if innocent of all offences. But at least on the Lord's day we ought to assemble ourselves together with fear as in the presence of the dread Judge of all. Let us not think that our deeds are unknown to God, because we are not punished, since it may be that we are reserved for punishment hereafter as being unworthy of a fatherly chastisement in this present time. Therefore if we are sorry, let the Father's chastisement be sweeter than honey : if watchful servants, let us not eat the bread of the Lord for naught. And thinking of these things as they befit the case of each and all,

let us either bewail our own unprofitableness or take anxious warning from the unprofitableness of others, through the grace of God in which we live. R. Amen. Through the mercy of the same God who is blessed and doth live and govern all things for ever and ever. R. Amen.

The Deacon. Bow your knees unto God.¹

*The Choir.*² Agyos, Agyos, Agyos Lord God eternal king : to thee be thanks and praise.

The Deacon. In our prayers let us keep in mind the Holy Catholic Church : that the Lord would mercifully vouchsafe to increase its gifts of faith, hope and love.³ [R. Grant this Almighty everlasting God.]

The Deacon. Let us keep in mind all the lapsed, the captives, the sick, and the strangers (*peregrinos*) : that the Lord would mercifully vouchsafe to regard, redeem, heal, and strengthen them. R. Grant this Almighty everlasting God.

The Deacon. Arise.

Alia Oratio. O God without beginning, who in the beginning didst make the visible world and being thyself unconditioned and everlasting didst lay it on perpetual foundations : with prayers out-

¹ 'Oremus' is given in the Missal. 'Flectite genua Deo' is implied in the subsequent 'Erigite vos' which is given in *Liber Ordinum*.

² An imitation of Byzantine custom, not originally part of the Mozarabic rite.

³ This is the old 'prayer of the faithful'—viz. an 'Ectene' cut down to two clauses, the second of which is probably a conflation of several clauses. Even in this short form one of the people's responses has vanished.

poured from our hearts and minds we implore thee to grant us pardon in this present life, and to make us worthy of thy eternal mercies. Mayest thou always find in us something to pity, so that where thou dost pity thou mayest pardon. *R. Amen.*

Through thy mercy, O our God, in whose sight the names of the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins are recited. *R. Amen.*

THE NOMINA OR DIPTYCHS¹

The Deacon. Our Bishops N. and M, [M. the

¹ We have here attempted to restore, as nearly as may be, the original form of the Mozarabic diptychs. The form given in the Missal contained originally the names of the patriarchs and prophets, as may be seen from some of the *Post nomina* prayers (e.g. for Easter Day and for the Fourth Sunday in Advent), where the classes of saints are alluded to as Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs. The original series is retained in the most interesting set of Irish diptychs that have been transferred to a position in the Canon in the Stowe Missal.

In several Mozarabic prayers we find the names on the diptychs classed as '*Offerentium et paasantium*.'

The Mozarabic Liturgy has retained the diptychs in the position which they originally occupied in all the primitive rites—viz. in connexion with the Offertory. This is known to have been the case in the Nestorian rite (*vide* Brightman's *Liturgies E. and W.*, I, p. 275); in the Byzantine rite (*vide* Act V of the Second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 538), and in the Alexandrian rite (Arabic version of Nicene Canons, No. LXIV, Labbe, *Concilia*, ii, p. 312). The present position of the diptychs in the Roman liturgy, in the middle of the Great Thanksgiving, cannot possibly be original, any more than the same position in the Alexandrian liturgy, although it probably dates back to a high antiquity. (See Dom Cagin's Introduction to the Ambrosian Antiphonal in *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. v.)

Roman Pope]¹ and all other bishops offer the oblation, for themselves and for all the people enrolled in their communion. *R.* They offer for themselves and for the universal brotherhood.

The Deacon. Also all the priests, deacons, clerks, and people standing around offer for themselves and for those belonging to them. *R.* They offer for themselves and for the universal brotherhood.²

The Deacon. They offer for³ the saintly order of the venerable Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs.

Abel	Peter
Seth	Paul
Enoch	[here follow the names of the
[here follow the names of the	the Apostles]
patriarchs and prophets]	Mark
The Maccabean youths	Luke
John the Baptist	Stephen
The Virgin Mary	Cornelius
	Cyprian

R. And all the martyrs.

¹ Probably not original, since Spain was outside the ancient patriarchate of Rome. The insertion of the name of the Roman Pontiff in the diptychs was ordered by the Second Council of Vaison, Canon IV (A.D. 529). As this was a Romanizing Council, the insertion was probably an innovation like other things ordered in its canons.

² Probably the lay people who actually offered were originally mentioned here, with an allusion to the *Liber viventium* and the response: *R.* 'Et omnium offerentium.'

³ A conjectural restoration in place of 'Commemorating' by comparing the Mozarabic text with that of the Stowe Missal (p. 14, H.B.S.), *pro commemorando anathletico gradu, etc.*

The Deacon. Also for the spirits of the waiting ones.¹

Hilary	Fulgentius
Athanasius	Leander
Martin	Isidore
Ambrose	[<i>names of Archbishops of</i>
Augustine	<i>Toledo and other bishops</i>]
	Felix

R. And all the waiting ones.

Praefatio Post Nomina. Having heard the names recited, beloved brethren, let us beseech the God of mercy and loving-kindness to receive graciously our offered gifts; to suffer no one of those for whom the sacrifice is broken to be exiled from the privilege of this service; but to remember both the living and the dead, looking upon both their evil and good deeds, and granting to the one grace and to the other pardon. *R. Amen.* For thou art the life of the living and the rest of all the faithful departed. *R. Amen.*

[*Pause for silent prayer.*]

Oratio ad Pacem. O God the abounding source of all good things and the unfailing concord of the

¹ The names of the '*pausanties*' varied originally with every see, as they contained chiefly the names of its departed occupants and other departed Christians. We have no Spanish diptychs other than those of Toledo, so that we cannot tell exactly how much variation there was in other Spanish sees, but in the Stowe Missal we have a parallel set of the Celtic Church, and at the end of the '*Rule of Aurelian*' (c. 546) we have a set of diptychs adapted to fit into the Roman Canon, much as the Celtic diptychs were fitted into the Canon of the Stowe Missal.

saints : grant such peace on earth that we as peace-makers may always follow and fulfil thy commandments. *R.* Amen. For thou art our true peace and unbroken charity and with the Father and the Holy Spirit livest and reignest one God for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

THE PAX

The Priest. The grace of God the Father Almighty, the peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communication of the Holy Spirit be ever with us all. *R.* And with men of goodwill.

The Deacon. Give the peace to one another as ye stand. [*The kiss of peace is given.*]

The Choir. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you : not as the world giveth, give I unto you. *V.* A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. *P.* Peace I leave with you, etc. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* Peace I leave, etc.

THE ILLATION ¹

The Priest [*returning to the altar*]. I will go unto the altar of God. *R.* Even unto the God of my joy and gladness.

¹ The word *illatio* is equivalent to the Greek ἀναφορά—i.e. the offering. Other terms were used in Gaul : *immolatio* (= offering or sacrifice), and *contestatio*, which is nearly equivalent to εὐχαριστία, as meaning the testifying of our thankfulness. We take the Roman term *actio* as signifying *gratiarum actio*. Lesley points out the great antiquity of this Illation, as witnessed by the contrast between the Eucharist and animal sacrifices.

The Deacon. Lend your ears to the Lord. *R.* We lend them to the Lord.

The Priest. Lift up your hearts. *R.* We lift them up unto the Lord.

The Priest. Let us give meet thanks and praise to our God and Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God in Heaven. ¹

R. It is meet and right so to do.

The Priest. It is meet and right, our very blessed and bounden duty that we should at all times render thanks to thee, O God Almighty; in thy name both celebrating the mysteries of our solemnities and offering to thee this sacrifice (simple to offer, rich to partake) which the highest praises cannot worthily proclaim. Here is neither the bleating of sheep nor the bellowing of cattle nor the death-cry of fluttering fowl to grieve the ear. Here the eye is not shocked with blood nor the appetite with surfeit: yet so wonderful and astounding is the victim that though without blood it is eaten alive. For although the true body is eaten and the blood most manifestly drunk yet nevertheless without aught distasteful is the salvation of our souls ministered in the spiritual food and cup. For blessed is thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ who coming in

¹ This cannot be original, as the thanksgiving is addressed to the Father, or to the Holy Trinity, not to our Lord [as some of the others are.—ED.]. The original *Deo ac Domino nostro . . . dignasque laudes dignasque gratias referamus* (or a much shorter form) has been interpolated with the words *Jesu Christo, Filio Dei qui est in caelis*. [Mr. Bishop has, I think, omitted to notice that Dom Férotin (*Lib. Ord.*, col. 236) has given the text thus: *Deo ac Domino n. Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto dignas laudes et gratias ref.*]

thy name commanded that these sacrifices should be presented before thee. Mindful of his precepts we both keep his commandments and commemorate his mighty deeds, whom with thee and the Holy Spirit the hosts of earth and heaven duly unite to praise, with cherubim and seraphim evermore praising thee and saying :

The Choir. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of the glory of thy Majesty. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest. Agyos, Agyos, Agyos, Kyrie O Theos.¹

The Priest. Truly holy, truly blessed is thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord : himself the faith of the patriarchs, the fulfilling of the Law, the burden of the prophets' message, the master of the apostles, the Father of all the faithful : himself the bulwark of the weak, the strength of the infirm, the redemption of captives, the inheritance of them that are redeemed, the health of the living, and the life of the dying. Who being himself the true High Priest of God instituted a new law of sacrifice, and commanded us to continue the same offering of himself as a victim well-pleasing unto thee : ² even Christ our Lord the eternal redeemer ; ³ for the

¹ Probably another imitation of the Byzantine rite.

² [The interpolation here of the words *Adesto, adesto Jesu bone pontifex, etc.*, now in use is not original.—ED.]

³ [Of the rest of this paragraph (called the *missa secreta*) it has seemed necessary to give a more exact rendering in accordance with the text found in Férotin's note (*Lib. Sacr.*, col. 327) than that originally provided by Mr. Bishop. For another form see *Lib. Ord.*, col. 238.—ED.]

Lord Jesus in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, giving thanks, brake, and gave it to them saying, Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you ; do this in commemoration of me. Likewise also after supper he took the cup and gave thanks and gave it to them saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is poured out for you and for many for the remission of sins : do this as oft as ye drink it in commemoration of me. *R. Amen.* As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show the Lord's death till he come from Heaven in glory. *R. So we believe, Lord Jesus.*

Post pridie. We plead O Lord with humble prayers the death of thy only-begotten Son which is our life, with undoubting faith confessing his resurrection and ascension into heaven ; and we await his coming again to judge each one according to his deserts, trembling for our guilt yet relying on thy mercy. We therefore thy servants beseech thee that thou wouldest sanctify this oblation by the infusion of thy Spirit and fully transform it into the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ : that we may be made meet to be cleansed from the stain of our offences by that victim whose redemption of us we commemorate ; and may not when wounded be denied thy healing power. We are sick, thou art the physician : we are pitiable, thou art pitiful ; therefore by this atoning sacrifice do thou heal us who do not hide from thee our wounds. *R. Amen.*

Grant this, O Father unbegotten, through thine only-begotten Son Our Lord Jesus Christ through

whom for us thy unworthy servants thou dost create, hallow, quicken, bless and bestow upon us all these good things that they may be blessed by thee our God for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

THE BREAKING OF THE BREAD

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Priest. The faith which we believe in our hearts, let us confess with our mouths.

The Choir. We believe in one God, etc.

[*During the Creed the host is broken.*¹]

THE LORD'S PRAYER²

The Priest. Beloved brethren, mindful of the

¹ On Sundays and festivals the Creed replaces the probably older custom of an anthem called *Confractorium*. Except in Lent and Eastertide is sung: '*Terra dabit fructum suum : benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, alleluia,*' but a different one is given for the *Missa Votiva omnimoda*.

The manner of breaking the host is very elaborate, and very similar to the old Irish custom. The host was broken into several fragments which were arranged on the corporal in the form of a cross, as directed by the Second Council of Tours, Canon III (A.D. 567), '*ut corpus Domini in altari non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur*. This practice, however, could not have arisen during the first age, when the faithful generally received at every Mass.

² The Lord's Prayer is said by the priest alone, the people responding 'Amen.' In France the Byzantine custom was adopted early—viz. that the people should say the Lord's Prayer; but it is practically certain that this was not the original custom anywhere in the West. The intercalation of 'Amen' in the course of a prayer was a common habit in Spain. cf. *Liber Ordinum*, pp. 10, 21, etc. (ed. Férotin).

commandments of the Lord, let us repeat the words of the Lord's Prayer suppliantly beseeching his Majesty that he would mercifully forget our offences and sanctify our hearts and bodies with the gift of his grace : so that purged from every spot of sin, with free voices we may cry from earth :

Our Father which art in Heaven. R. Amen.

Hallowed be thy name. R. Amen.

Thy kingdom come. R. Amen.

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
R. Amen.

Give us this day our daily bread. R. For thou art God.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. R. Amen.

And lead us not into temptation. R. But deliver us from evil.

Delivered from evil and strengthened always in good, may we be made meet to serve the Lord our God. Bring to an end O Lord the tale of our sins ; grant joy to the troubled in heart, bestow redemption on the captives, give health to the sick, rest to the dead. Grant us peace and safety all our days, break in pieces the insolence of our foes and hear O Lord the prayers of all faithful Christians thy servants this day and throughout all time.¹
R. Amen.

Through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord who

¹ This prayer, often called *Embolismus*, was constant in the Mozarabic rite, although in Gaul it was variable. [But see Férotin, *Lib. Ord.*, col. 239, note 3.—Ed.]

liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

[*A particle of the host is placed in the chalice.*¹]

THE BLESSING

The Deacon. Bow down yourselves for the blessing.² *R. Thanks be to God.*

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R. And with thy spirit.*

The Priest. May ye be filled with the blessing of our Almighty God by whose ineffable power ye were created. *R. Amen.*

May ye be filled with his unfailing grace by whose precious blood ye have been redeemed. *R. Amen.*

And may he grant you a mansion to live in for ever in his eternal kingdom to whom in this world he has afforded the covenant of a new birth. *R. Amen.*

¹ When the priest placed a particle of the host in the chalice he said privately, '*Sancta sanctis et conjunctio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit sumentibus et potantibus nobis ad veniam, et defunctis fidelibus praestetur ad requiem.*' It does not appear, however, that this is a survival of an original rite similar to the Oriental τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. The words, no doubt, were adopted from the Byzantine liturgy, like several other similar details, but we do not know of any evidence that it was ever said aloud with a response as in the Greek liturgies, or that it was ever anything more than a private devotion.

² The deacon's invitation and the subsequent benediction remind us of a very similar feature in the Syrian and Coptic rites (*vide* Brightman's *Liturgies E. and W.*, I, pp. 60, 100, 136, 156, 243, etc.). The Mozarabs were very careless, using sometimes the first person and sometimes the second, and even changing the person in the middle of a benediction.

Through the mercy of the same our Lord who doth live and govern all things for ever and ever. R. Amen.

THE COMMUNION

V. The Lord be alway with you. R. And with thy spirit.

[*During the priest's communion*]

Ad accedentes. O taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. V. I will alway give thanks unto the Lord ; his praise shall ever be in my mouth. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. V. The Lord delivereth the souls of his servants : and all they that put their trust in him shall not be destitute. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. V. Glory and honour be to the Father, etc. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.¹

The Deacon. Approach according to your places. R. Thanks be to God.

[*The Communion is administered in both kinds with the following words*]

The body of Our Lord Jesus Christ be thy salvation. R. Amen.

The blood of Christ, which is thy redemption, remain with thee. R. Amen.

¹ This anthem was always used except in Lent and Eastertide. The same Psalm xxxiii (A.V. xxxiv), or a part of it, was prescribed for use during Communion in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Lib. VIII, c. 20, and is mentioned by St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Jerome.

THE POST-COMMUNION THANKSGIVING

[*After the communion of the people*]

The Choir. Refreshed with the body and blood of Christ we praise thee O Lord.¹ Alleluia.

Praefatio. Having received the heavenly sacrament of the body of Christ and being refreshed with the cup of everlasting salvation, let us give thanks and praise to God the Father Almighty. *R. Amen.*²

Through the mercy of God, who is blessed and doth live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

The Deacon. Bow your knees to God.

[*Pause for private prayer.*]

The Deacon. Arise.

Collectio. We give thanks unto thee, O God, through whom we have celebrated these holy mysteries; entreating from thee the gifts of mercy and sanctification. *R. Amen.*

¹ The Mozarabic Liturgy possesses only two varieties of this anthem; the one given is used at all times except Lent, when it is replaced by '*Repletum est gaudio os nostrum: et lingua nostra in exultatione.*' [But see Férotin, *Lib. Ord.*, col. 242: also *Lib. Sacr.*, col. 552.—Ed.] In the Stowe Missal and the St. Gall fragment No. 1394 may be seen a collection of chants for the latter part of the Mass which very closely resemble those in the Mozarabic Liturgy (*vide* Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 174 ff. and 242 f.), and form a complete set for the latter part of the Mass.

² The Post-Communion prayers are taken from the *Missale Gothicum*, as they exhibit both *praefatio* and *collectio*. The Mozarabic Liturgy has lost the former.

Through thy mercy, O our God, who art blessed and dost live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Deacon. Our solemnities are completed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. May our devotion be accepted in peace. *R.* Thanks be to God.

The above example will, we hope, give a sufficiently clear idea of the Mozarabic Liturgy. It is more complicated than the Roman, partly by reason of its great wealth of variable parts, and partly because it has preserved several very interesting primitive features which in the Roman rite have been lost or buried in the Canon. The Roman Canon differs from the 'Great Thanksgiving' of all the other ancient rites; its structure is involved, and there is hardly any sequence of ideas, while in the other ancient rites the main lines are clear and simple, and the structure intelligible. Take first the Eastern liturgies. From the opening versicles of the Great Thanksgiving to the Invocation the whole action is one continuous stream of devotion, which is not a prayer but a thanksgiving, passing into prayer (the Invocation) only at the close. In this thanksgiving there are commemorated in order the creation, the promise of redemption after the fall, the preparation for redemption in the law and the prophets, and at length the Incarnation of the Redeemer, his Life, his Passion (in connexion with which is introduced the historical account of

the institution of the Eucharist), his Resurrection, Ascension (in connexion with which occurs the 'great oblation' of the Eucharistic sacrifice), and finally the descent of the Holy Ghost, at which point the thanksgiving passes into a prayer to God to send down the Holy Ghost upon the offered elements that he may make them the Body and Blood of Christ. At some early point of the thanksgiving has been introduced the mention of the Angels, and with it the Angelic hymn 'Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.'

In such a devotional form there is an intelligible arrangement of ideas and a unity of structure curiously lacking in the Roman Preface and Canon, which by contrast appears to be little better than a medley of incongruous elements.¹ The Mozarabic illations are very various in character, but the oldest of them show a close resemblance to the Eastern type, and there can be little doubt that the original character of the early illations was very similar—except in such points as the detailed references to the Old Covenant, which may never have been worked out so thoroughly in the Western liturgies. Many of these illations are thanksgivings,² and exhibit distinctly a chronological order of events commemorated: the later Masses depart more and more from the early type in this and other respects. It seems quite possible (especially considering the

¹ cf. Dom Cagin's Introduction to the Ambrosian Antiphonal in *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. v. Also Procter and Frere's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 441 *sqq.*

² cf. Mone's *Reichenau MS. Fragments*, iii, iv, b, v, a, b.

general Western recklessness of innovation—outside Rome—and carelessness about adherence to traditional forms) that the original type of the Western illations resembled the Eastern type even more closely than is indicated by any extant Masses. And it is by no means improbable that the Western novelty of Masses composed to suit special festivals and occasions had a great influence in obliterating the original features of the primitive type of illation.

The prayer of Invocation, in which the Great Thanksgiving culminates, naturally shared in the same process of change. But in the case of the Invocation the deflection from the original model appears to be due, not merely to accidental or unconscious variation, but to deliberate alteration ; and we believe that a careful comparison of the remaining forms of this prayer will lead to the conviction that the original wording has been altered from a doctrinal motive, and that this alteration has been due to the growth of an idea that the consecration was effected by the words of institution. The growth of such an idea would result naturally in an objection to the use of a prayer after these words in which it was asked that the elements *might become* the Body and Blood of Christ, and so in many of these invocations the wording was softened down, and in others an ambiguous form was substituted, which might be understood either to pray for the sacramental change or to assume that it had already taken place. The question cannot here be discussed at adequate length, but we will adduce a few of the

more striking forms. Take first the Mozarabic *Post Pridie* as given in the Missal for the Fifth Sunday in Lent:—

‘Having recited, O Lord, thy only-begotten Son’s command to celebrate the Sacraments,¹ and commemorating at the same time his most glorious passion, resurrection and ascension into heaven, we humbly pray and entreat thy Majesty to send down the fullness of thy blessing upon these offerings, and to pour upon them from heaven the gentle rain of thy Holy Spirit ; that this sacrifice may become [a sacrifice after the order of Melchizedech, that it may become a sacrifice after the order of thy Patriarchs and Prophets ; that as thy Majesty did vouchsafe to accept their offerings, which they made in types and figures, foreshadowing the coming of thy only-begotten Son, so thou wouldest vouchsafe to look upon and hallow this sacrifice, *which is*] the true body and blood of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, who for us all was made both Sacrifice and Priest. [Do thou, therefore, hallow this sacrifice, most merciful Father, with the glory of thy countenance, that they who receive it may obtain from thee in this life the pardon of their sins and eternal life in heaven hereafter.]’²

¹ Here ‘Sacraments’ is used in the early way, *i.e.* the bread and cup are spoken of as *two* Sacraments.

² ‘Recitatis Domine Unigeniti tui sacramentorum praeceptis simulque praeclarae passionis et resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis memoriam facientes, majestatem tuam supplices rogamus ac petimus, ut in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui Sancti de caelis : ut fiat hoc sacrificium [secundum ordinem Melchisedech ; fiat hoc

It was perceived by Dr. Neale¹ that these words ‘*which is*’ cannot be genuine, but that they must have been substituted for some such words as ‘that it may become’: and it appears highly probable that the whole of the passages which we have enclosed in square brackets are interpolations. Compare the *Post Pridie* above with the following, which is found in the Mozarabic Missal in the Mass for St. Christina (July 24), and (with certain variations, indicated by square brackets) in *Missale Gothicum* (Missa xx, in Cathedra S. Petri).

‘Wherefore we observing these commandments, do offer unto thee the most holy gifts of our salvation, beseeching [thee most gracious and Almighty God] that thou wouldest vouchsafe to pour thy Holy Spirit upon these offerings; that it [*sic*] may become unto us a valid Eucharist² in thine own name and the name of thy Son and Holy

sacrificium secundum Patriarcharum et Prophetarum tuorum; ut quod ab illis typice facientibus, Unigeniti Filii tui significantibus adventum, tua majestas acceptare dignata est, sic hoc sacrificium respicere et sanctificare digneris: *quod est*] verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Filii tui: qui pro nobis omnibus factus est sacerdos et hostia. [Hanc itaque hostiam tu, piissime Pater, de tuæ claritatis respectu sanctifica: ut sumentibus eam et hic delictorum veniam, et æternam in caelis conferas vitam.]’ [The text given by Férotin, *Lib. Sacr.*, col. 543, omits the words Melchisedech; fiat hoc sacrificium secundum.—ED.]

¹ *Essays in Liturgiology*, 2nd edit., p. 164.

² This is clearly the meaning of the words ‘legitima eucharistia.’ No doubt the words ‘in the transformation . . . thy Son our Lord’ were added to the prayer as a kind of compensation when the words ‘legitima eucharistia’ were substituted for ‘verum corpus et verus sanguis.’

Spirit, in the transformation of the body [and blood] of the same Jesus Christ thy [only-begotten] Son our Lord ; [and may confer] eternal life on all who eat, and an everlasting kingdom on all who drink of the same.' ¹

Comparing this with the preceding form, one can hardly avoid the suggestion that the strange '*legitima eucharistia*' is a vague term deliberately substituted for the original words '*verum corpus et verus sanguis*,' and the conjecture reaches (we think) a practical certainty when we find in one Gallican *Post Pridie* (the Caius College fragment) that in this case the innovator had substituted '*legitima eucharistia*' for '*verum corpus*,' but had forgotten to delete '*et verus sanguis*.' This prayer (which is for the Mass of the Vigil of Christmas) runs thus :—

'O God who hast made this most holy night resplendent with the illumination of the true light through the child-bearing of the blessed Virgin Mary . . . grant us, we beseech thee, to rejoice in heaven in the joy of him, the mystery of whose light we have known on earth : may a sweet savour

¹ 'Haec igitur praecepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus, obsecrantes [te, clementissime omnipotens deus,] ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super haec solemnia [or praelibamina] ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in tuo Filii tui nomine et spiritus sancti [benedicta] : in transformatione ejusdem corporis [ac sanguinis] domini nostri Jesu Christi [Unigeniti] Filii tui, edentibus nobis vitam aeternam regnumque perpetuum [collatura bibituris]. Te praestante etc.' [The text as given by Férotin, *Lib. Sacr.*, col. 379, omits all the words in square brackets above and reads in vitam eternam regnumque perpetuum conlocemur at the end.—ED.]

ascend to thee from these holy offerings, and a copious blessing descend from thee upon them, that by the mystery of thy operation it [*sic*] may become unto us a valid Eucharist (*legitima eucharistia*) and his true blood : in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.'¹

From a comparison of these Invocations it appears to us quite clear that the original type of Invocation which underlies them all is a prayer to God to send his Spirit upon the offered gifts '*ut fiat [nobis] hoc sacrificium verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, etc.' The language of the prayer would naturally vary in different Masses, but the crucial words would be common to all. The persistence of '*ut fiat*,' in the remaining forms, even after a plural substantive, seems to point to these words as part of a fixed and common form. It might be questioned, of course, as to whether this was the only original type of Invocation ; and to this it must be replied that we have no evidence of any other common type : there are other Invocations of a different character altogether ; but these all vary one from another ; there is no traditional type of wording to

¹ 'Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem per beatae Mariae sacrae Virginis partum sine humana concupiscentia procreatum veri Luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere ; da nobis quaesumus ut cujus lucis mysterium in terra cognovimus ejus quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur. Ex his quoque sacris libaminibus odor ad te suavitatis ascendat atque in his benedictio a te copiosa descendat ; ut per mysterium tuae operationis fiat nobis *eucharistia legitima et verus sanguis* in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

be detected in any of them ; some appear to be either mutilated examples of a type originally identical with that of the foregoing examples, or to be isolated forms specially composed with the purpose of employing ambiguous language which might be understood as an Invocation or not according to convenience ; and in others the invocatory petition is wrapped up in the convenient obscurity of flowery verbiage.¹

We will give two examples of these Invocations : the first, an example of an ambiguous wording ; the second (which, for the sake of clearness, we leave in the original), an example both of ambiguous wording and also of the excision of important words and phrases. The first is found in Mone's *Reichenau Fragments*, No. III, and also in the Mozarabic Missal for the Sunday before the November fast.

‘ Remembering therefore and obeying the precept of thy only-begotten Son, we beseech thee, Almighty Father, to pour thy sanctifying Spirit upon these creatures set forth upon thine altar : that this sacramental bread, being changed into the body [of Christ] and this cup transformed into his blood by the outpouring of thy heavenly and invisible Spirit, they may bring grace to all who offer and healing to all who receive.’²

¹ See, however, Batiffol's *L'Eucharistie*, pp. 360 ff.

² ‘ Recolentes [*Missale Mozarabicum* complentes] igitur et servantes praecepta Unigeniti tui [de]precamur, Omnipotens Pater, ut his creaturis altario tuo superpositis Spiritum sanctificationis infundas : ut per transfusionem celestis atque invisibilis sacramenti panis hic transmutatus in carnem, et calix translatus [*M.M.* trans-

The second example, from *Missale Gothicum Missa Dominicalis VI*, is one instance out of many where either the mention of the Holy Spirit or the effect of his Benediction has been cut out, leaving an obviously incomplete and mutilated fragment.

‘Explentes sacrosancta caerimoniarum solemnia, ritu Melchisedech summi sacerdotis oblata, precamur mente devota te, Majestas aeterna, ut operante virtute panem mutatum in carne, poculum verum in sanguine, illum sumamus in calice qui de te fluxit in cruce ex latere.’

Here ‘*Spiritus Sancti*’ must evidently be supplied after *virtute*, and (as noticed by Forbes) a clause has dropped out referring to the reception of Christ’s Body, parallel to the last clause relating to the reception of the chalice. In *Missa Dominicalis V* we find a *Post Pridie* originally identical (in the terms of the invocation) with that for the *Cathedra S. Petri*, quoted above, but in this case all the words between ‘*Spiritus tuum Sanctum*’ and ‘*edentibus*’ have been cut out, and so awkwardly as to leave nothing to agree with ‘*collatura*’!

What date can be assigned to the growth of this theory that the consecration is effected by the words of institution? The testimony of the liturgies (with the possible exception of the Roman, though even in this liturgy some of the highest authorities recognize an invocation, albeit in different terms) is clear and decisive that the earlier tradition was that

mutatus] in sanguinem sint [*M.M. sit*] offerentibus gratia et sumentibus medicina.’ [The Moz. readings are here given as in Férotin, *Lib. Sacr.*, col. 625.—ED.]

consecration was not effected by the words of institution alone, nor until the prayer of invocation which followed them. It would be an interesting problem for a patristic student to trace the origin and development of the later theory ; it has never been current outside the West, and even in the West and late into the Middle Ages, it was by no means universally accepted by theological writers.

[An article on part of this subject (*the Primitive Form of Consecration*) was contributed to the *Ch. Quart. Review* in July, 1908. It is hardly necessary to add that it has been frequently discussed of late years with much fullness and varying conclusions. —ED.]

III

THE BREVIARY IN SPAIN

BESIDES the Liturgy, a round of other services would be found in the Middle Ages in all parts of Christendom, viz. a set of services for the evening and morning and for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day and before bedtime, and also for use at a certain hour during the night-time. The fundamental material of these services consisted of the Psalter, which was arranged to be said 'in course,' that is, right through again and again, and almost universally week by week. In the Latin Church these services were usually called according to the hours at which they were supposed to be said—*ad Matutinas*, *ad Primam*, *ad Tertiam*, *ad Sextam*, *ad Nonam*, *ad Vesperas*, *Completerium*, *ad Nocturnas* or *in vigiliis nocturnis*, with similar titles in the Greek or Syriac service-books.

But this apparent uniformity of plan was not due to any divine or apostolic injunction, nor even to any sub-apostolic tradition. The public observance of these hours of prayer by services whose staple consists of the regular recitation of the Psalter was in the earliest ages no part of ordinary Christian observance, but it came into fashion as an imitation of monastic habits of devotion. Such a round of

regular devotion was at first no part of the duty of either clergy or laity ; before the rise of monasticism only *selected* Psalms were used as required in the services of the Church, and it was the monks who first used the Psalter as the staple of their services, and introduced the use of it 'in course,' as the main feature of their services.

When we examine the early history of the canons of services contained in the Roman Breviary we find that these are really a product of monastic devotion just as strictly as the services of the Benedictine Breviary ; the one Breviary comprising the services of the monks attached to the Roman basilicas (and particularly to the Vatican basilica), and the other comprising the services of the monks who lived under the Rule of St. Benedict, at Monte Cassino or elsewhere. The services of the Roman Breviary are not 'secular' at all. They were imposed upon the churches of Gaul by Charlemagne along with the rest of the Roman rite ; and it seems practically certain that long before this they had so completely superseded all other services at Rome that the original Roman services had entirely disappeared ; and as a matter of fact all evidence of their nature and even of their existence has completely vanished, with the possible exception of certain allusions in the Hippolytean Church Order, if this is really of Roman origin.¹

¹ [Mr. Bishop has a reference here, but without chapter and verse, (in pencil) to 'T. Thompson's remark on the apparently Roman origin of the Church Orders or their lost original' : but I cannot verify it, and perhaps it is more to the point for present

If we consider the other existent rites a similar state of things meets our view. The Byzantine rite is used by both monks and seculars, though only in part obligatory on secular clergy;¹ and in its present shape the rite is evidently monastic, though it is probable that some parts of these services are derived from earlier secular services: and I believe the same may be said of the present Coptic, Jacobite and Persian hour-services. But in the services of the ancient Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites we find a survival of genuine examples of the ancient secular services of the Western Church from which inconsistent accretions can readily be separated, leaving the original form and order of the services practically intact and complete. I proceed to describe the choir-services of these rites in order, pointing out developments and accretions so far as it is possible to do so; and I shall afterwards endeavour to point out what we may suppose to have been the general character of Western services.

(I)

The principal sources from which our knowledge of the choir-services of the Mozarabic rite is obtained are the following:—

Breviarium Gothicum secundum regulam beatissimi Isidori Archiepiscopi Hispalensis iussu Card. Fr. Ximenii de Cisneros prius editum; nunc opera exc.

students to refer them to Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, especially chap. ix, and Conolly, *Egyptian Church Order*.—ED.]

¹ See Justinian, *Cod.*, lib. 1, tit. 3, l. 42, § 10.

D. Fr. Ant. Lorenzana sanctae ecclesiae Toletanæ Hispaniarum primatis Archiepiscopi recognitum. (Matriti : anno MDCCLXXV).

Liturgia antiqua Hispanica Gothica Isidoriana Mozarabica Toletana mixta illustrata adjectis vetustis monumentis cum additionibus, scholiis et variantibus lectionibus ad vetustissimorum Codicum fidem exactis Tom I (Romae, MDCCXLVI). This is very scarce but invaluable, as exhibiting a development of the rite earlier than that of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which are the basis of the printed editions.

Certain valuable details are to be gleaned from the following :—

Liber Comicus sive Lectionarius Missae quo Toletana Ecclesia ante annos mille et ducentos utebatur. ‘Anecdota Maredsolana,’ vol. i, edidit D. Germanus Morin, 1893.

Dom Férotin’s edition of the *Liber Ordinum* as already described (pp. 7 ff.).

The Mozarabic Psalter (MS. Brit. Museum add. 30851), edited by J. P. Gilson, M.A. (H.B.S., vol. xxx, 1905).

Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits Mozarabes par Dom M. Férotin. Monumenta eccl. liturgica, vol. vi (Paris, 1912). Several new items of information, in particular about the Spanish monastic rite, are to be gathered from the account here given of the Mozarabic MSS.

Some further information about the rite during the sixth and seventh centuries may be gained from the Canons of Spanish Councils, and also from those

of the Gallican Councils of the same period, these latter being of hardly less value, since the Gallican rite was fundamentally the same.

[N.B.—It is obvious that some of these books (notably the *Liber Sacramentorum* and the *Liber Comicus*) are of even more importance for the study of the Moz. Mass (*q.v.*), but Mr. Bishop has entered them here and I have not removed them.—ED.]

The Mozarabic choir-services are known to us chiefly through the first-named of these volumes, the *Breviarium Gothicum*, printed by Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros in 1502, for the use of the chaplains of the Mozarabic chapel at Toledo, and reprinted (with some differences ¹) in 1775 by Lorenzana ; but this book is so entirely different from any of those service-books ordinarily called Breviaries that a student who has mastered the intricacies of the latter may, nevertheless, find himself hopelessly 'at sea' in an attempt to grasp the general principles and characteristics of the round of services of the ancient Gothic rite. There are two causes of this difficulty. The first and lesser cause is the fact that the general arrangement of the book is by no means that of an ordinary Breviary. In fact, it is not a Breviary at all, but rather a collection of service-books for use at the choir-offices. There is a Kalendar,

¹ Ximenes' Psalter contained no Antiphons ; and the lesser hours (*Horae Canonicae*) were printed along with the 118th (A.V. 119th) Psalm. Lorenzana substituted a Psalter (from another MS.) with Antiphons, and followed by the Canticles, Hymnale, and *Horae Canonicae*.

Temporale, and Sanctorale, but the Ximenean Psalter does not contain the general framework of the services; it is (practically) as simple as the Psalter in the Bible, offering no indication of the method by which the Psalms were to be recited. Nor do we find in the *Temporale* or elsewhere any hint of any 'course' of psalmody. In the series of Lenten services we do indeed find a series of Psalms which seems at first sight to offer something like a 'course,' but this is really only a series of selected Psalms (or portions of Psalms) approximately in the order of the Psalter, and the use of this series is confined to Lent and the Rogationtides, of which latter there are several sets in the year, each set consisting of three days.

But this lesser difficulty depends partly upon the second and greater obstacle to the understanding of these services, viz. the fact that these ancient services, for which the various books now collected into the *Breviarium Gothicum* were compiled, *were themselves of an entirely different character* from the ordinary choir-services with which we are acquainted. We have to get rid of almost all pre-conceived ideas about services derived from the Roman and Benedictine Breviaries, and to investigate the Mozarabic service-books without the hindrance of ideas derived from these alien rites. As the character of the Mozarabic services becomes clear to us, it will be a strong corroboration of our interpretation of them to find that these services are of a cognate character with such services as the Ambrosian—in their original form (which will be

presently described) and (in some degree) with the directions for services given in certain of the ancient Rules of obsolete Monastic Orders.

(2)

On a slight examination of the *Breviarium Gothicum*, it will be apparent that we have in it a collection of service-books belonging to two distinct rites : the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* belonging to one rite, the Psalter, Canticles, Hymns and *Horae Canonicae* to the other. For (*a*) the antiphons and divisions of the Psalms are quite different from those required by the *Temporale* ; (*b*) the Canticles are an altogether different collection, in many cases not corresponding at all to those of the *Temporale* ; (*c*) the same may be said of the hymns ;¹ and (*d*) of the *Horae Canonicae*, for these are totally inconsistent with the services prescribed for those hours during Lent and Rogationtides in the *Temporale*. Again, the rite of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* has no lesser hours (except services at the third, sixth and ninth hours in Lent and Rogations, which are described below, pp. 87 ff.), while the course of services represented by the *Horae Canonicae* had (as will be shown later) a series of services not only for

¹ Lorenzana added the present Hymnale to the Breviary, not printing in full hymns already in the Breviary. He added the names of several Saints in the *Sanctorale* and Kalendar because hymns were provided for them in this Hymnale, but *all the rest of their offices had to be taken from the Common*. These festivals were entirely unknown to the genuine *Sanctorale* as edited by Ximenes.

Prime, Tierce, Sexts, Nones and Complin, but also for the second, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth hours of the day, as well as services for the night. Consequently, we may be permitted to assume that the *Temporale* and *Sanc-torale* represent the secular use or *Cathedralis Ordo*, as it is called in the MSS.; whilst the Psalter, Canticles, Hymns and *Horae Canonicae* enshrine large remnants of a monastic rite. The facts, first, that there was a clearly recognized distinction between the secular and monastic rites; secondly, that no services, except Vespers and Mattins, are included (at least ordinarily) in the secular services; and, thirdly, that it was contrary to tradition to mix up these sets of services by adding monastic services to the secular course, or otherwise mingling them together, may be seen from the canons of many Spanish and Gallican Councils.¹

(3)

Let us try to comprehend something of the two rites, taking the monastic rite first. The *Horae Canonicae* in the 'Breviary' contain services for

¹ The distinction between the monastic and secular rites is recognized, and any mixing or combining of the two forbidden by the 1st Canon of the first Council of Braga (563). Daily Vespers and Mattins are alone required of the clergy by the 7th Canon of the Council of Tarragona (561), the 1st Canon of the first Council of Braga; the 37th and 63rd Canons of the second Council of Braga (572); 2nd Canon of the second Council of Macon (585); and the 2nd Canon of the fourth Council of Toledo (633).

Aurora, Prime, Tierce, Sexts, Nones and Complin. This cannot be a complete set of services, for there is nothing corresponding to Vespers, Nocturns or Lauds. Here, however, the British Museum Psalter (Add. MS. 30851), published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, helps us out ; at the end are to be found services of precisely similar character for Nocturns, in which the use of twelve Psalms (or Psalms and Canticles) is indicated.¹ These Psalms appear to have varied with the day.

But when we examine the *Horae Canonicae* more attentively, it becomes apparent that (besides the omission of these services) the present *Horae* represents but a fragment of the original set of services, and that 'doctored.' For in the order of the so-called 'Prime' one verse of the Lenten hymn reads, *Iam nos secundae praemonet horae peractus circulus*, etc. Hence the title of this service should be not *ad Primam* but *ad Secundam*, and the service called *Aurora* is really *ad Primam*. Again, one cannot help being struck with the oddness of the choice of Psalms, or portions of Psalm 118 (Heb. 119) assigned to those hour-services, and the selection seems, at first sight, unaccountable. But the solution of the puzzle becomes readily apparent from the table below (in which the several portions of Psalm 118 (119) are numbered *a*, *b*, *c*, etc.),² and it will be seen that the present 'Hours' are but the remnant of a series of services for the twelve hours of the day !

¹ Gilson, *The Mozarabic Psalter*, pp. 292, 300, 321.

² We omit the letters *j*, *u*, *w*, *y*.

ad primam (called *auroram*) Pss. 69, 118*a*, 118*b*, 118*c*¹
ad secundam (called *primam*)

Pss. 66, 144*a*, 144*b*, 112, 118*d*, 118*e*, 118*f*

ad tertiam . . . Pss. 94, 118*g*, 118*h*, 118*i*
 [*ad quartam* . . . „ — 118*k*, 118*l*, 118*m*]
 [*ad quintam* . . . „ — 118*n*, 118*o*, 118*p*]
ad sextam . . . „ 53, 118*q*, 118*r*, 118*s*
 [*ad septimam* . . . „ — 118*t*, 118*u*, 118*x*]
 [*ad octavam* . . . „ — 118*z*, 119, 120]
ad nonam . . . „ 145, 121, 122, 123
 [*ad decimam* . . . „ — 124, 125, 126]
 [*ad undecimam* . . . „ — 127, 128, 129]
 [*ad duodecimam* . . . „ — 130, 131, 132]
ad completorium . . . „ — 133

Truly a tremendous undertaking, which would be absolutely impossible for parochial clergy, and even in a monastery would necessitate relays of monks to keep going its almost incessant fountain of prayer and praise.² Without question this

¹ The numbering of the Psalms is given according to the Vulgate.

² The fact that these were originally all separate services for their proper hours is borne out by the *Hymnale*, in which each of these hours has its own hymn, as have also several services during the night. In the MS. *Rituale antiquissimum* of Silos (*Liber Ordinum*, Introd., pp. xxix f.), besides the offices of Vespers and Mattins the following offices are assigned to the monks, and the *ordines* for them are given:—*ordo peculiaris* (= *aurora*), *ad primam et secundam* (said in one office), *ad tertiam*, *ad quartam et quintam* (together), *ad sextam*, *ad septimam et octavam* (together), *ad nonam*, *ad decimam*, *undecimam et duodecimam* (together), *ante completam*, *ad completam*, *post completam*, *ante lectulum*, *ad medium noctis*, *ordo in nocturnos*. The Rule of St. Isidore († 636) prescribes Tierce, Sexts, Nones, Vespers, Complin, Vigils and Mattins (together). The

round of services does not belong in any sense to the secular rite.

Neither was this round of services intended in its monastic home to be supplemented by the secular Vespers, Mattins and Lauds, as found in the 'Breviary'; for it will be found, on examination, that the two rites are inconsistent with one another.¹

The Hymnale—no part of Ximenes' 'Breviary,' but inserted in it by Lorenzana—contains hymns

Rule of St. Fructuosus (c. 650) gives *ad primam, ad secundam, ad tertiam, ad quartam, ad quintam, ad sextam, ad septimam, ad octavam, ad nonam, ad decimam, ad undecimam, ad Vesperam*.

In *Liber Sacramentorum* (pp. lvii ff.) Dom Férotin has given a clear and full description of the Spanish monastic offices. According to the MSS. that remain these were :—*ordo ad medium noctis, ordo ad celebrandum nocturnos, ordo post nocturnos, matutinum, ordo peculiaris, ordo ad primam et secundam, ordo ad tertiam, ordo ad quartam et quintam, ordo ad sextam, ordo ad septimam et octavam, ordo ad nonam, ordo ad decimam, undecimam et duodecimam, ordo ad Vesperum, ordo ad completa, ordo ante lectulum*. These do not agree with the Rule of St. Fructuosus, nor with the indications in the *Hymnale*; and doubtless there would be a considerable variety of usage to be found in different monasteries, along with a strong family resemblance in general character and details.

¹ If my information is accurate, the Mozarabic chaplains of Toledo are accustomed, in saying Tierce, Sexts and Nones in Lent, to mix up parts of these services as given in the *Temporale* with parts of the Tierce, Sexts and Nones as given in the *Horae*. If this be really their custom, it would clearly show that the saying of these services was not a survival but a revival, and that those who restored these services did not apprehend their true character, the true tradition of their use having been completely lost before the time of the great Cardinal. We shall try to make this more apparent presently, when we come to the description of the secular services at the third, sixth and ninth hours as given in the *Temporale*.

for all the above series of hours (except where a lacuna occurs in the MS.) ; and it contains hymns for the following : *ante completam* (*ante completorium*), *de prima Vigilia*, *ad quietem*, *ad medium noctis*, *ad nocturnos*, *ad galli cantum*, *ad pullorum cantum*, *ad Matutinum*. We get here a glimpse of a round of services which went on almost continuously by day and night under the 'Rule' of some founder of a monastery. Was the continuous psalmody, which we read of in certain monasteries,¹ accomplished by means of a similar series of services ?

(4)

If we now turn to the secular rite embodied in the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, we find *propria* assigned to Vespers and Mattins² for each Sunday and Holy Day, and during Lent and Rogationtides *propria* for Vespers, Mattins, Tierce, Sexts and Nones daily, with certain exceptions to be noticed presently ; but no hint of Prime or Complin, and none of Tierce, Sexts and Nones except in Lent and the various Rogationtides of the Mozarabic rite. It will, doubtless, appear strange to modern ideas to conceive of a round of choir-services which consisted (ordinarily) of nothing but Vespers and Mattins ; and yet we believe that it will be found to be the fact—although as yet not generally recognized—that the ancient secular

¹ cf. *Bona de Divina Psalmodia*, I, § iv.

² The service of Mattins consists of devotions which are now treated as two services—Mattins and Lauds—although these are never distinguished, and are always said as one (see below).

services of the West consisted of these services and these alone.¹ It must always be borne in mind that the services of the Roman Breviary are in reality not secular services at all, but services for monasteries, and are just as strictly monastic as the services of the Benedictine Breviary—the one giving us the services of the monks of Rome, the other those of the monks of Monte Cassino: and the standard writers on the subject (as *e.g.* Mabillon in his essay *De Cursu Gallicano* at the end of his *De Liturgia Gallicana*) have been the cause of a great deal of confusion, by not recognizing and marking the fundamental distinction that must always be borne in mind between secular and monastic services.

The genuine old secular services of Rome have entirely disappeared without leaving a trace behind, unless we accept the Hippolytean Church Order as exhibiting the traditions of Rome; and we believe that all the evidence available for the West outside Rome points to the fact that the genuine secular services consisted originally of Vespers and Mattins (including Lauds) only.²

If, then, the original secular services of the West consisted of Vespers and Mattins only, what was the order of the 'course' of psalmody? There is no hint in the Mozarabic book or MSS. of any course of psalmody at all, *i.e.* of any regular recita-

¹ See note on next page.

In *Liber Ordinum* (Intro., p. xxx) Complin is included under the '*Cathedralis Ordo*,' but this service is quite unknown to the services prescribed by the Spanish and Gallican Councils.

² As to the Ambrosian rite, see pp. 98 ff.

tion of the Psalter, or any rule by which it was to be got through during a certain period—a week, a fortnight, or any similar period of time; and, strange though it may appear, we do not believe that there was any regular recitation of the Psalter in these secular services, but only the use of *selected* Psalms or portions of Psalms, which were sung, with refrains, as Responds or Antiphons. We believe that the whole idea of the regular recitation of the Psalter, as the stock foundation of services, was a monastic innovation and altogether foreign to the earlier secular services, the foundation of which was lessons and chants consisting of *selected* Psalms. This is borne out by the study of the Ambrosian Breviary.

There is another point which is suggested by a study of the MSS. and the *Orationale*, viz. that the Vespers and Mattins (during the ordinary part of the year, at least) were not originally *daily* services, but were said with the same frequency as the Mass, viz. that Vespers and Mattins were provided for every day for which there was a Mass,¹ but not originally for other days except during special

¹ We understand that in the Orthodox Church the clergy are required to say the offices *for each day on which the liturgy is said*, but (unless it be in Lent) not on other days. Mabillon (*De Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 408) quotes a letter from Paulinus to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, which shows that in that city many churches as well as monasteries had daily services at the end of the fourth century (as at Milan); but the decrees of several councils show that this was not general in the sixth century. In the earlier portions of the 'Hippolytean Church Order' it is clear that the services were not said daily.

seasons. In the *Orationale* Vespers and Mattins are provided for every day in Advent, and in *traditione symboli* (i.e. the last three weeks of Lent), and in Eastertide ; but Advent is not older than the sixth century, nor can we be certain that the arrangement in the MS. is older than the seventh.

In the MSS. in the British Museum (with the exception of the *Orationale*) there is no separation into Missal and Breviary ; but the services are arranged in one series according to the year, Vespers, Mattins and Mass being given for each day. The Ambrosian Antiphoner (of the MSS.¹) has exactly the same character. A consideration of the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary seems to show that these books were rearranged from MSS. which were of the same description ; and that the separation of these forms of service into the 'Missal' and the 'Breviary' was a comparatively late idea, and rather clumsily carried out. The *Orationale*, of course, belongs to the earlier type of service-book, before the introduction of 'mixed' books, when each book contained only the part of the service that was to be sung by a certain person or class of persons.

(5)

Next, what was the form of the Mozarabic Vespers and Mattins ? The Vespers and Mattins for the Sunday before Epiphany will serve as an example.

¹ See *Paléographie Musicale*, tt. v, vi.

VESPERS

Introductory.—✠ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, light with peace. *R.* Thanks be to God. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.¹

Lucernarium.—All the angels praised and hymned thee, Lord, when thou didst finish the firmament of heaven : the day is thine, and the night also is thine. *P.*² Thou hast prepared the light and the sun. *V.* Thou didst divide the sea through thy power, thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters. Thou hast prepared the light and the sun.³

Sonus. — Ride on, O Lord. *P.* Because of the word of truth, of meekness and righteousness. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia. *V.* My heart is inditing of a good matter : I speak of the things which I have made unto the King. *P.* Because of the word of truth, of meekness and righteousness.

Antiphon.—Rejoice ye with Jerusalem ; and be glad with her, all ye that love her. *P.* Rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her. *V.* Praise

¹ This salutation is said at Vespers, before every fresh chant except the hymn, but not at Mattins (compare Ambrosian). Robles (*Brevé suma del oficio santo Gotico* ; Toledo, 1603) states that the salutation is said before any Collect at Mattins and Lauds, but before no Collect at Vespers.

² *P* = *Pressa* = *Reclamatio*. See note on p. 27 above.

³ A collect usually follows the *Lucernarium* [*v.* 30th Canon of the Council of Agde (506)], although it is considered to be a Respond and not an Antiphon.

the Lord, O Jerusalem ; praise thy God, O Sion.
P. Rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn
 for her. Glory and honour be to the Father,
 and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost for ever
 and ever. Amen.¹ *P.* Rejoice for joy with her
 all ye that mourn for her.

Laudes.—Alleluia. The Day-spring from on high
 hath visited us. *P.* To give light to them that
 sit in darkness and in the shadow of death : and
 to guide our feet into the way of peace. Alleluia.
 Alleluia. Alleluia. *V.* Like as we have heard,
 so have we seen ; in the city of the Lord of
 hosts, in the city of our God : God upholdeth
 the same for ever. *P.* To give light to them
 that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death :
 and to guide our feet into the way of peace.
 Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia. *V.* Glory and
 honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to
 the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.
P. To give light . . . peace. Alleluia. Alle-
 luia. Alleluia.

Hymn—*Agni genitor Domine*, etc.

O God the Father, holy one,
 O Lamb of God, the Virgin's Son,
 Engendered not of mortal wight,
 Well-spring of life and prince of light.

¹ Note the peculiar form of the Gloria. It was traditional in Spain, and is found also at Milan (Magistretti's *Beroldus*, p. 44), and in Ireland (see *Antiphonarium Benchorensense* II, pp. 78-80, H.B.S.) ; and was very likely used elsewhere. This form is enjoined, though it was not originated, by the Fourth Council of Toledo (Canon xv).

Be thou our Saviour, Lord benign,
 The only Son of God divine,
 Christ Jesu, pilot of our barque,
 And to our cry for succour hark.

Thou cam'st to earth to help thy folk
 To ease the captive of his yoke,
 The fettered tongue-string to unbind,
 To eyesight to restore the blind.

Ah ! leave us not as orphans here,
 Kind maker of the world give ear,
 Spare us, good Lord, at any cost
 Who will'st that ne'er a soul be lost.

Artificer of moon and sun,
 O Saviour, sole-begotten one,
 Protect us from a death of woe,
 Redeem us from our bitter foe.

May Christ our Master vigil keep,
 And we in faith grow rooted deep,
 Let Satan's armies melt as snow,
 Unable to surprise his foe.

Through Jesus Christ may this be done,
 Who reigneth with the Father One,
 And deigned to teach mankind in brief
 The holy Catholic belief.

Sing we in chorus 'Glory be
 To God the blessed Trinity,
 To Father, Son, and Spirit, one
 Or ever time and tide begun.' Amen.¹

¹ This translation is due to the kindness and skill of the Rev.
 G. R. Woodward, a prince among translators of hymns.

Supplicatio.¹—Let us pray our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world, and with all supplication beseech him that he would grant to his holy Catholic Church an increase of faith, peace and a firm defence. *R.* Grant this, Almighty everlasting God. [*Kyrie eleison. R. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.*]

Oratio Completoria.—O God, without beginning and without end, the Author of the earthly universe : grant to us that we, who have dedicated to thee the beginning of this year, may pass through it unto the end in such prosperity as is pleasing unto thyself, and let our light shine in works of holiness. *R. Amen.*

[*Lord's Prayer*.—Our Father, etc., as at the Mass.

Embolismus.—Delivered from evil, and strengthened always in good, may we be made meet to serve thee our Lord and God. Put an end, O Lord, to our sins ; give joy to the sorrowing : grant release to the captives, health to the sick, rest to the dead. Give peace and safety in all our days ; break the insolence of our foes ; hear, O Lord, the prayer of thy servants and of all faithful Christians, this day and every day. Through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*]

¹ For the title *Supplicatio*, cf. the Rule of St. Benedict, c. ix, *Supplicatio litaniae, id est Kyrie eleison*. A similar *supplicatio* is found in an *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* in Menard's edn. of the Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 236.

[*Benediction*.—*The Deacon* : Bow down yourselves for a blessing. *Priest* : 'The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Crown of all the Church, which was formed out of himself, grant us to pass this year in peace. *R.* Amen. May he gladden us with the fruits of the earth, and grant us strength to gather them. *R.* Amen. That we may without harm pass through the circle of the year rejoicing in such prosperity as is pleasing unto him. *R.* Amen. Through his mercy, who liveth and governeth all things, and is blessed for evermore. *R.* Amen.]

Supplementary.

Laudes.—Alleluia. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them. *P.* And the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. Alleluia. Alleluia. *V.* O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands ; serve the Lord with gladness and come before his presence with a song. *P.* And the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. *V.* Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen. *P.* And the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Collect.—Only begotten Son of the unbegotten Father, dispel from us, etc. (as at Mattins, see below).

The following Memory is said daily.

Laudes.—In the evening, and in the morning and at noonday. *P.* We praise thee, O Lord.

Collect.—O Lord, God Almighty, who hast commanded us to call the evening, the morning, and the noonday one day ; and hast made the sun to know his going down : dispel, we beseech thee, the darkness from our hearts, that by thy light we may know thee to be the true God and eternal light. *R.* Amen. Through thy mercy, O our God, who livest and governest all things, and art blessed for evermore. *R.* Amen.

Conclusion.—✠ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, let us go forth with peace. *R.* Thanks be to God.

MATTINS

Introductory (as at Vespers).

Hymn (daily). *Aeterne rerum Conditor.*

Maker of all, eternal King,
Who day and night about dost bring ;
Who weary mortals to relieve
Dost in their time the seasons give.

Now chancicleer proclaims the day,
And calls the sun's awakening ray—
The wandering pilgrim's guiding light,
That marks the watches night by night.

Roused at the note, the morning star
Heaven's dusky veil uplifts afar ;
Night's vagrant bands no longer roam,
But from their dark ways hie them home.

The encouraged sailor's fears are o'er,
 The foaming billows rage no more ;
 Lo ! e'en the very Church's Rock
 Melts at the crowing of the cock.

Oh let us then like men arise ;
 The cock rebukes our slumbering eyes,
 Bestirs who still in sleep would lie,
 And shames who would their Lord deny.

New hope his clarion-note awakes,
 Sickness the feeble frame forsakes,
 The robber sheathes his lawless sword,
 Faith to the fallen is restored.

Look on us, Jesu, when we fall,
 And with that look our souls recall ;
 If thou but look our sins are gone,
 And with due tears our pardon won.

Shed through our hearts thy piercing ray,
 Our soul's dull slumber drive away ;
 Thy name be first on every tongue,
 To thee our earliest praises sung.

All honour, laud and glory be
 O Jesu, Virgin-born, to thee ;
 All glory, as is ever meet,
 To Father and to Paraclete. Amen.¹

Collect.—Almighty, everlasting and merciful God,
 who appointest times and seasons, and bestowest
 upon each season its accompanying grace : lest
 the mind should be exhausted by the lengthened

¹ This is Mr. J. W. Copeland's version from the *Hymner*.

darkness, thou dost gladden us by the cock-crow, that the herald's announcement of the day may awake in us the thought of the daily round : do thou, therefore, look upon us continually and help us, that we may not be overcome by the darkness of sin and so forget the everlasting day ; but raise us up when we slip amidst the shadows and chasten us by thy look, so that with Peter we may recover ourselves from our falls, and with tears like his bewail the sins which we have committed. *R. Amen.* Through thy mercy, O our God, who livest and reignest, and art blessed for evermore. *R. Amen.*

Antiphon A.—Salvation belongeth unto thee, O Lord : and thy blessing is upon thy people. Psalm iii.

Antiphon B.—Put out all our misdeeds, O Lord : and cleanse thou our heart from our sins. Psalm i (li).

Antiphon C.—I will call unto the Most High God, even unto the God that shall perform the cause which I have in hand. Psalm lvi (lvii).

Collect.—Only begotten Son of the unbegotten Father, dispel from us the sleep of the body and mercifully spare our offences ; that that which is now sown in the weakness of our vile body, by the gift of thy divinity may rise in glory : do thou therefore, O Lord, bestow an abundant assistance on all that trust in thee, and by the overshadowing of thy wings draw us to our Fatherland on high. *R. Amen.* Through, etc. *R. Amen.*

Antiphon I.—The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways. *P.* Before the mountains were settled ; before the hills were brought forth. *V.* My heart is inditing of a good matter : I speak of the things which I have made unto the King. *P.* Before the mountains were settled : before the hills were brought forth. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* Before the mountains, etc.

Collect.—Eternal Wisdom of God the Father, who bearest witness that thou wast with the Father who begat thee before he made the world or settled the lofty mountains or created all the hills ; we pray and beseech thee, that we who joyfully celebrate thy pure nativity may, by faith, attain to the reward which thou hast promised : that thou who wast begotten before the foundation of the mountains, and in the fullness of time wast born of a Virgin's womb, wouldest so sanctify us who believe in thee that thou mayest reward us hereafter in glory everlasting. *R.* Amen. Through thy mercy, etc. *R.* Amen.

Antiphon II.—The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light. *P.* They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. *V.* O ! clap your hands together, all ye people ; O ! sing unto the God with voice of melody. *P.* They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* They that dwell, etc.

Collect.—Only begotten Son of God, who hast caused them that dwell in the land of the shadow of

death to see a great light, and hast made the light to shine by the mystery of thy Incarnation : grant us who joyfully celebrate the day of thy nativity such clear vision of thy shining light that we may be gladdened by the perception of thy divine nature. *R. Amen.* Through thy mercy, etc. *R. Amen.*

Antiphon III.—The Lord of hosts hath visited his flock the house of Judah. *P.* And hath made them as his goodly horse in the battle. *V.* Like as we have heard so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God ; God upholdeth the same for ever. *P.* And hath made them as his goodly horse in the battle. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* And hath made them, etc.

Collect.—Almighty Lord, who hast visited thy flock the house of Judah ; visit us who lie in the sleep of sin : that whilst by thy lightning thou dispersest the darkness of our sins, by the might of thy death thou mayest deliver us from their power, that we may be so enlightened by thy appearing that by thy combat with death we may be delivered from the empery of death. *R. Amen.* Through thy mercy, etc. *R. Amen.*

Respond.—This is my Righteous one, my Saviour. *P.* He shall deliver his city ; and shall remit the sins of his people, not for price nor reward. *V.* Lift up your eyes to the heaven and see who hath created these things : it is the Lord God, the Creator of the ends of the earth. *P.* He shall deliver his city ; and shall remit the sins

of his people, not for price nor for reward. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* He shall deliver, etc. *Collect.*—This is our Righteous one, in whom by faith we have hoped at the Prophet's word : to whose appearing we have attained through grace : therefore, let us entreat his clemency, that he would deliver us and forgive the sins of his people, for whom he vouchsafed to hang upon the cross. *R.* Amen. Through his mercy, etc. *R.* Amen.

LAUDS

Canticle. Antiphon.—He is a fruitful bough, a fruitful bough by a well : he giveth goodly words.

Canticle.—And Jacob called his sons (Genesis xlix. 1-27).

Benedictus es. Antiphon.—Blessed art thou, O Lord, and blessed is the name of thy glory. *P.* Bless ye the Lord, all ye his chosen : may his holy name be blessed for ever and ever. *Canticle.*—Blessed art thou, O Lord, etc. (Song of the Three Children, vv. 29-66, *multis praetermissis*). *P.* Bless ye the Lord, all ye his chosen : may his holy name be blessed for ever and ever. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* Bless ye the Lord, etc.

Sonus (as at Vespers).

Laudes. Antiphon.—O praise the Lord of heaven ; praise him in the height. Psalm cxlviii.¹

Lesson.—The lesson from the book of the Proverbs

¹ On Sundays Psalms cxlviii-cl are said ; on ordinary days (and even festivals) only one of these Psalms.

of Solomon. *R.* Thanks be to God. The Lord possessed me, etc. (Proverbs viii. 22-33). *R.* Amen.

Hymn.—Splendor Paternae gloriæ.

Thou Brightness of the Father's ray,
True Light of light and Day of day :
Light's fountain and eternal spring :
Thou morn, the morn illumining !

Glide in, thou very sun divine ;
With everlasting brightness shine :
And shed abroad on every sense
The Spirit's light and influence.

Thee, Father, let us seek aright—
The Father of perpetual light,
The Father of almighty grace—
Each wile of sin away to chase.

And Christ our daily food be nigh
And Faith our daily cup supply :
So may we quaff to calm and bless,
The Spirit's rapturous holiness.

All honour, laud, and glory be
O Jesu, virgin-born, to thee :
All glory, as is ever meet,
To Father and to Paraclete. Amen.¹

Supplicatio.—Let us pray our Lord Jesus Christ (as at Vespers). *P.* Grant this Almighty, everlasting God. [Kyrie eleison. *R.* Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.]

¹ From *The Hymnal Noted*.

Oratio Completoria.—O God without beginning, etc.
(as at Vespers).

[*Lord's Prayer, with Embolismus* (as at Vespers).]

[*Benediction* (as at Vespers).]

Conclusion (as at Vespers).

Here the following points may be noted.

1. The titles of the various items of the service are wrongly given in the printed Breviaries; *i.e.* *Sono* for *Sonus* (a characteristic Spanish alteration), *Lauda* for *Laudes*, *Capitula* for [*Oratio*] *Completoria*. In the MSS. these titles are not written in full, but only in curiously contracted forms; and these contractions were misread by the compilers of the Breviary. *Completoria* is rightly given by Bianchini in the *Orationale Gothicum*. Mr. Gilson reads *Sonatio*, but Canon ii of the Council of Merida has *Sonus*, or possibly *Sonum*.

2. These services have the appearance of consisting of Antiphons and Responds, *without any Psalms*; but it will be noticed that in almost every case the 'verse' is the first verse of a Psalm, and (by analogy with the ordinary introits, etc.) this shows us clearly that, in the case of these Antiphons and Responds also, the original custom was to sing the whole Psalm (or a recognized division of the Psalm), intercalating the refrain after every verse—or sometimes after every two verses.¹

¹ In the Antiphon for the feet-washing on Maundy Thursday, as given in the Missal, Psalm cxviii, *i.e.* the whole Psalm (or so much of it as is necessary), is prescribed; while in the same Antiphon, as given in the Breviary, this is indicated by the *first verse* of the Psalm. (Breviary, p. 359; ed. Migne, col. 603.)

3. *Kyrie eleison* is an incongruous addition to the original services. We see from the *Peregrinatio Sylviae* (really *Etheriae*) that *Domine miserere* was used in Gaul in the fourth century and that *Kyrie eleison* was unknown;¹ it was introduced by the 'Romanizing' Council of Vaison in A.D. 529 (Canon iii) along with the addition of *Sicut erat in principio* to the *Gloria Patri*, and the recitation of the Pope's name in the diptychs.

4. The Lord's Prayer with its embolismus was another addition to the services, due to the Council of Gerona in A.D. 517,² and the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), Canon x. The *oratio completoria* was originally the conclusion of the service, as is shown by the name itself.

5. The Benediction (usually taken from the Mass of the day) was not an original element of the choir-services, but its addition was due to the Council of Agde in A.D. 506.³

Similarly on Good Friday Psalm l (li) is ordered with the repetition of *Qui das post peccata indulgentiam* after each verse.

¹ [See the S.P.C.K. edition, pp. 47 and xliii: also E. Bishop, *Lit. Hist.*, pp. 116 ff. Instead of 'Gaul' most students would now read 'Spain,' so far as Etheria's witness goes, though no doubt it applies to Gaul also.—ED.]

² Canon xi (x) *Item nobis placuit ut omnibus diebus post Matutinos & Vesperas, oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur.*

³ Canon xxx . . . *ut plebs collecta oratione ad Vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur.* This custom was extended to Mattins by Canon ii of the First Council of Barcelona (A.D. 540) . . . *ut benedictio in Matutinis fidelibus sicut in Vespera tribuatur.* (It must always be remembered that the probability is that these Councils [except possibly that of Vaison] only legalized a custom which had grown up already.)

6. The supplementary *Laudes*, each followed by its own collect, were an even later addition. They appear to correspond to the '*Memoriae*' of the mediaeval Breviaries.

7. At Mattins the three Psalms (Psalms iii, l, lvi) after the hymn are no part of the original structure of the service (nor probably the hymn *Aeterne rerum*). In the *Orationale* there is no allusion to the hymn, and we never find Psalms l and lvi in this place; and Psalm iii only on special occasions. The three Antiphons and the Respond are the most fundamental parts of this service, and in *Orationale Gothicum* the series of these chants is called a *missa*.¹ On great festivals there are several of these *missae*.²

8. The title *In laudibus* occurs but rarely in the printed books and never in the MSS., and there is no evidence that Lauds was ever said at a different time or separate from the 'Mattins' preceding. It is not spoken of as a separate office in the Rule of St. Isidore. The Canticle varies according to the day or season. The second Chant is a variety of *Benedicite*. The *Laudes* consists of one of Psalms cxlviii-cl, or all of them; it appears that the original custom was to sing all three Psalms, but on Sundays and festivals only, and that this was the original germ of the service.

9. *The Lesson*.—In the *Liber Comicus* edited by Dom G. Morin, three lessons are appointed for the Sundays in Lent, a Prophecy, Epistle and Gospel,

¹ II. Rubric on p. 130, compared with p. 54, where '*quarta*' is an error of the scribe for '*quinta*.'

² See what is said on the Rule of St. Isidore below, pp. 85 f.

which seems to be a survival of an ancient usage,¹ though these lessons were probably an early addition to the original Lauds, since the form of Lauds was evidently modelled on that of Vespers, and the latter had no lessons.

10. *The Supplicatio*.—The response to this is identical with the response to the very ancient litany in the Mass—*Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam*, etc. The form of the curious biddings used on Good Friday suggests the possibility that in the *Supplicatio* ‘*Oremus*’ may have replaced an original ‘*Deprecemur*.’ An alternative title for the *Supplicatio* is *Deprecatio*.

The question will occur to some of my readers, what relation have these services to those prescribed by St. Isidore in his Monastic Rule? St. Isidore says :—

‘At Tierce, Sexts and Nones three psalms are to be said, one Respond, two lections out of the Old and New Testament : then lauds, a hymn and prayer. At Vesper offices first the “*lucernarium*,” then two psalms, one respond and lauds, a hymn and prayer are to be said . . . when complin is done. . . . But in week-day offices of vigils, first three canonical psalms are to be recited, then three “*missae*” of psalms, a fourth of canticles, a fifth of Mattin offices. On Sundays, however, or feasts of martyrs, to mark the solemnity, extra “*missae*” are added besides. . . . Further, let lections from the Old and New Testament be recited on week-days

¹ cf. the Rule of Aurelian [Bp. of Arles (546–553) : see E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 126.—Ed.]

at the time of the office : while on Saturday and Sunday let them be rehearsed out of the New Testament only.' ¹

Here we observe, first, that St. Isidore's Rule is expressly for monks, so that we cannot argue from it that all the services mentioned belonged to the secular rite. But, secondly, we may expect some correspondence in general character between the services of Vespers and Mattins here described and the corresponding secular services. There are only two Psalms at Vespers because the *Lucernarium* was originally a Psalm ; and as this has degenerated into a verse with its Antiphon, so it is quite natural that the other Psalms should degenerate similarly. *Oratio* = the *oratio completoria* of the books. The *tres psalmi canonici* appear to be Psalms iii, l, lvi, of the books. In the *Orationale* a *missa psalmorum* = three Antiphons followed by one Respond, *i.e.* four Psalms, if all the Psalms were sung in full. Thus the *tres missae* would correspond to the 'twelve Psalms' for nocturns mentioned in the British

¹ 'In Tertia Sexta & Nona tres psalmi dicendi sunt, Responsorium unum, lectiones ex veteri novoque testamento duae : deinde laudes hymnus atque oratio. In Vespertinis autem officiis primo lucernarium deinde psalmi duo, responsorium unum et laudes hymnus atque oratio dicenda est . . . peracto completorio. . . . In quotidianis vero officiis vigiliarum, primum tres psalmi canonici recitandi sunt, deinde tres missae psalmorum, quarta canticorum, quinta matutinorum officiorum. In Dominicis vero diebus, vel festivitibus martyrum solemnitatis causâ singulae superadduntur missae. . . . Lectiones autem ex veteri et novo testamento tempore officii quotidianis diebus recitentur : Sabbati autem die atque Dominico, ex novo tantum pronuncientur.'

Museum Psalter. But the Respond may not have included a complete Psalm even when the Antiphons did—as is seen in the services for the first part of Lent in the Breviary ; in this case the *tres missae* would correspond to nine Psalms. By analogy the *quarta [missa] canticorum* would mean four Canticles ; but this does not appear to be supported by any other authority. The *quinta [missa] matutinorum officiorum* apparently = Psalms cxlviii–cl, which were the original basis of the service of Lauds. The additional *missae*, at least for festivals, are amply illustrated by both Breviary and *Orationale*.

St. Isidore's Rule as to lessons agrees with the *Horae Canonicae*, found in the present Breviary ; but (as noted above) the services of which the *Horae Canonicae* formed part were originally much more numerous than those of St. Isidore's Rule.

(6)

We must pass on to notice a very curious and interesting series of services in the Mozarabic rite. In the Mozarabic Breviary (so called) there are to be found during Lent a series of titles *ad Tertiam*, *ad Sextam*, *ad Nonam*. Under the first and third of these titles we find two lessons (at each hour) from the Sapiential and Historical books of the Old Testament respectively, beginning with Genesis ; and these are followed by three Antiphons, each with its collect, besides other devotions which need not be considered at present. The same is true of *ad Sextam*, except that in this case there is only one lesson, which is from the Prophetic books. What

is the rationale of these lessons and anthems? They are not such services as the Breviary offices usually called 'Tierce,' 'Sexts' and 'Nones'—services which are part of a monastic round; for such services formed no part of the secular services of the Mozarabic or any other primitive rite. They are not *propria* for the season, to be inserted into the framework of the monastic *Horae Canonicae* now included in the *Breviarum Gothicum*, for they are totally inconsistent with these services. The problem is solved by comparison with the Missal. The lessons from the Historical books form a series, and those from the Sapiential books are selected—often very ingeniously—to suit the historical lessons which they accompany. But there are gaps in the Breviary series. There is no service *ad Nonam* for Wednesdays or Fridays; and in the series of historical lessons *there is a lesson missing where these services ought to be*. What has become of it? Turn to the Missal: here we find masses for the Wednesdays and Fridays, and these masses begin with the very lessons from the Sapiential and Historical books which are missing from the series in the Breviary! For example, combining the two sets of services, we get:—

Hebdomada II Quadragesimae.

Fer. IV.

ad Laudes

Gen. xlix. 28–1 *ad fnem*

ad tertiam

Sir. x. 2–10, etc. Exod. i. 1–ii. 10

ad missam [*ad nonam*] Prov. xxvii. 23–xxviii. 1.

Exod. ii. 2–iii. 15

Fer. V.

ad Laudes

Exod. iii. 16-vi. 1

After these two lessons *ad Missam*, are added (in the Missal) the Epistle and Gospel, and the rest of the mass. And so throughout the whole of Lent. Thus it appears clear that we have here a series of *missae catechumenorum* similar to a series belonging to the Ambrosian rite¹—a series which was intended for the instruction of the *competentes*, who were preparing for baptism at Easter. At the ninth hour on Wednesdays and Fridays the *missa catechumenorum* was followed by the *missa fidelium* in the usual way after the dismissal of the catechumens: and on other days and hours the service was concluded by the three Antiphons and some form of dismissal. This series of services was intended for use in the Cathedral only, and not in parish churches.

It will be easily seen, on inspection, that the Antiphons belonging to these services consist of two series, the first being these for use during the first half of Lent (up to Mid-Lent Sunday); and the second for use during the latter half of Lent.

¹ The Ambrosian series of services consisted of *missae catechumenorum* 'at the third hour' and 'at the ninth hour' of all weekdays in Lent, except Saturdays: *missae fidelium* are added to the series *ad nonam*, but it is pretty clear that these are a later addition to the original *missae catechumenorum*. The series of services *ad tertiam* are still recited in the Cathedral: those *ad nonam* have been dropped. A very similar series of *missae catechumenorum* is incorporated in the Byzantine Lenten services, and now combined with Sexts and Vespers.

In the first series the Psalm to be sung under each Antiphon is denoted by its number ; in the second series by the first verse of the Psalm (or of a portion of the Psalm) ; which, we believe, was originally intended to be followed by the remainder of the Psalm (or portion), as noted above for Vespers and Mattins. Now in the *Orationale Gothicum* only the second series of these Antiphons is found. What is the meaning of this ? The *Orationale* is a MS. of the highest antiquity,¹ bearing throughout a character consistent with an older date than the MSS. which underlie the Ximenean Missal and Breviary ; and it is well known that in the Mozarabic rite the ancient period of preparation of candidates (called *in traditione symboli*) consisted of the three weeks before Easter.² The inference is that this series of *missae catechumenorum* did not originally extend throughout the whole of Lent, but only throughout the latter half of it ; and that the first series of Antiphons is a later addition.

But how about the lessons which were for the instruction of the catechumens ? We believe that here again can be seen the marks of a twofold series.

¹ It is attributed by Bianchini to the seventh century : more recent critics favour the eighth, Dom Férotin was inclined to favour the earlier date. See *Lib. Sacr.*, col. 947 ; also p. 7 above.

² Canon ix of the Second Council of Braga (A.D. 572) prescribes a general observance of three days of Rogations at the beginning of Lent, but mentions no other public services except the preparation of the catechumens, which was to begin at Mid-Lent. (cf. No. xlix of the Canons appended to those of the Second Council of Braga.)

The lessons now assigned in these Mozarabic services to the first half of Lent cover more than the ground covered by the longer Ambrosian series ; and it seems probable that when the later series of Antiphons was added for the first half of Lent, the lessons which had been used during the second half of Lent (the only ones up till then) were pushed back for use during the first half of Lent, and then the *series was continued* through the rest of the Historical (and Sapiential) books during the second half of the season.¹ The period of preparation of the

¹ There is another point to be noted in connexion with these *missae catechumenorum*. If we examine the service *ad tertiam* on the first Monday in Lent (Lorenzana, p. 144 ; ed. Migne, col. 269), we notice the third Antiphon with its Psalm (No. xi) ; but a Respond, a set of *preces*, a hymn, and the *Supplicatio* are all printed between this Antiphon and the Collect belonging to it—(*Custodi nos*, etc.)—in col. 274 ; and the same thing occurs in connexion with the last Antiphon at almost all of these services. Now since these collects, which are thus separated from the Psalms, are composed upon the themes of the Psalms to which they belong, it appears evident that they were intended to follow immediately after the Psalms (as do those of the other Antiphons), and that all the devotional elements that separate them from their Psalms are out of place, and have been intruded into their present position by mistake. The title *capitula*, given to many of these separated collects, seems to show that this has been done *so that the preces, etc., may be concluded with a collect*. If only we could refer to some MSS. of the services which covered the period of Lent, we might find out what was the original order, and perhaps, also, what was the origin of these *preces*. The MSS. in the British Museum fail us just for this period. In the *Orationale Gothicum* a similar set of collects is given, to be used with the corresponding ‘*antiphonae psalmographae*’ as these Antiphons are there entitled ; but an *Oratio completoria* and a *benedictio* are provided with which to conclude each of these *missae catechumenorum*, when the *missa*

competentes was thus doubled in length, being extended throughout *six* weeks instead of *three*, the extended period being probably an imitation of the custom in use at Milan or Byzantium.

There is, however, one difficulty. There is one very striking correspondence between the present arrangement and the series of Gospels, which would be lost in what we take to be the original arrangement, unless there has also been a corresponding change in the Gospels. The lesson at the mass on the second Sunday in Lent (from Genesis xli) ends with the words—*Veritque nomen illius et vocavit eum lingua Egyptiaca Salvatorem mundi*. The Gospel which followed this lesson was (before a comparatively recent dislocation) that of the woman of Samaria, and it ended with the words—*ipsi enim audivimus et scimus quia hic est Salvator mundi*. Consequently, if this lesson was read originally on the *fifth* Sunday in Lent instead of the *second*, either the Gospel of the woman of Samaria must have been also read origin-

fidelium did not follow on immediately. In the *Orationale* it is apparently assumed that *missa fidelium* would be said on Saturdays at the sixth hour, and on other weekdays at the ninth hour. The Mozarabic books appear to show a custom of relaxing the fast on Saturdays—contrary to the Roman custom of fasting on Saturdays—the special services (and the mass, if there was one) being finished at an earlier hour. It is quite possible that the Scrutinies in Spain (as in Milan and Africa) were held on Saturdays, and that this custom may have been connected with the earlier hour for the mass. The second Canon of the Fourth Council of Orleans ordained that the Saturdays in Lent were to be fasted; but the Mozarabic service-books appear to show a contrary custom. It is difficult to discover how far the influence of many of these Councils penetrated.

ally on the *fifth* Sunday in Lent, or the correspondence did not then exist. From the *Sacramentarium Bobiense*, also, it is plain that the history of Joseph was read in that rite on the second Sunday in Lent, and in the Ambrosian Lectionary (which is only a variant of the Mozarabic) the Gospel of the woman of Samaria was read on the same Sunday. So far as present information points, the most probable conclusion appears to be that the striking and beautiful correspondence mentioned above was an almost accidental result of the 'pushing back' of the series of lessons from Genesis. If this 'pushing back' brought the lesson from Genesis xli *into proximity* to the second Sunday in Lent, it would not be difficult to bring it into the same service with the Gospel.¹

(7)

The Dominical Year and Kalendar of the Mozarabic rite are of great interest. The year began with Advent, in which there were *six* Sundays in the printed books (*five* in the MSS.) in agreement with the Ambrosian rite, but in contrast with the Roman *four*. The Feast of the Annunciation was introduced into Spain before it was introduced at Rome, but was kept (much more conveniently) on the 18th of December, instead of the 25th of March. If we have to get the annual commemoration of the whole life of our Lord (so to speak) into half a year, it seems more reasonable to keep the Annunciation

¹ In St. Augustine's lectionary Genesis xxxii was read *shortly* before Easter. This lectionary, so far as can be made out, corresponded very closely with the Mozarabic.

some short time before Christmas, instead of on the supposed actual date, when it interferes entirely with the solemn events of the end of our Lord's earthly life.¹

The festivals of Christmas Week differed from the Roman Holy Days. The order² was as follows :—

Dec. 26. St. Stephen	29. St. John. Ap. & Ev.
„ 27. St. Eugenia	30. St. James, the brother of
„ 28. St. James, the Lord's	St. John
brother	31. St. Columba (of Spain)

The Innocents' Day was kept as soon after the Epiphany as possible, on January 8—January 7 being already assigned to SS. Julian and Basilissa. Epiphany was a great day, and the Mass of the Vigil (in this case, as usually, the original mass of the day) commemorated our Lord's Baptism ; but in the mass of the day the purely Roman commemoration of the Magi has been adopted, though without entirely displacing the Baptism. The festival of the Purification, as also those of most of the Apostles, of All Saints, and of course of Corpus Christi, were

¹ On all days from December 18 to Christmas Day, after Vespers, the choir sang the syllable O a number of times, though no mention of this is found in either Missal or Breviary. We suspect that this will be found to be the origin of the greater Antiphons *O Sapientia*, etc., which are sung at this season. It would be quite a normal development for the words to be fitted to a previously existing melody, and different words to be fitted to the same melody on different days. The Rev. G. H. Palmer—a very high authority—assures us that the melody is not Roman.

² As may be seen by the Kalendars printed at the end of Dom Férotin's *Liber Ordinum*.

entirely absent until supplied by Ximenes. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Name of Jesus are commemorated in the prayers for the Octave of Christmas.

The Sundays immediately before Lent are not called Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, and Ash Wednesday is a very late addition, to which is due the dislocation of the Gospels for the Sundays in Lent in the present Missal.

We have already described the division of the six weeks of Lent into two equal portions. All the Antiphons, Responds and Collects during the latter half have reference to the Passion of our Lord, and in this rite we see the original Passiontide which is longer than Holy Week, viz. three weeks in all. The same custom obtained in Gaul, but we find some people cutting it down to *two* weeks, against whom the 49th Canon of the Second Council of Braga (cf. Canons 1 and 9) was passed. The idea of Passiontide is entirely non-Roman and (whether two weeks or three) is an incongruity in the Roman rite. The ancient Roman division was into *five* weeks of Lent and *one* of Passiontide.

In accordance with ancient principles, which would allow no fasting in Eastertide, the Rogation-days are postponed till three days before Pentecost. There are other sets of (three) Rogation-days, viz. just before the Epiphany, as a warning against idolatry, and just before the feasts of St. Cyprian (in September) and St. Martin (in November). There are sets of services for all these Rogations consisting of *missae catechumenorum* at the third, sixth and ninth

hours, with a series of lessons very similar to the Lenten *missae catechumenorum* described above, the chief difference being that an Epistle-lesson is added to those from the Sapiential and Historical books. The *missa fidelium* is added at the ninth hour on the last day of the Rogation. In the Kalendar these Rogations (though services are provided for only *three* days) are marked to begin on the *fourth* day before the festival which they precede ; but this is to allow for the possibility of a Sunday intervening. On what day they would be begun in a year when a Sunday did *not* intervene is not apparent.

In the arrangement of the Dominical year and the Kalendar, the much greater antiquity of the *Orationale Gothicum* than that of the other Mozarabic service-books is very apparent. We have described above its older arrangement of the Lenten *missae catechumenorum*, and one or two other features have been alluded to.

This book is well worth the attention of all liturgical students, and a reprint of it would be a boon, as it has become extremely scarce. The Kalendar—as gathered from the round of services provided, since it is not printed in table form—is evidently (from its extreme simplicity) much more ancient than that of any Mozarabic MS. yet printed, or than those MSS. which were used by Ximenes.

In condensed form it is as follows :—

Jan.	1. Oct. Nativ. Domini	Jan. [8.]	Allisionis Infantum
„	6. Apparitionis Domini	„ 21.	SS. Fructuosi, Augurii and Eulogii
„	7. SS. Juliani et Basil- issae	„ 22.	S. Vincenti

Feb. 21. Cath. S. Petri	[Oct. 22.] SS. Cosmae & Dami-
[May 3. S. Crucis ¹]	ani
June 16. SS. Adriani et Na-	Nov. 11. S. Martini
taliae	„ 17. S. Aciscii ³
„ 24. Nat. S. Joh. Bapt.	„ 22. S. Ceciliae ³
„ [29. SS. Petri et Pauli ¹]	„ 29. S. Saturnini
July 17. SS. Justae & Rufinae	„ 30. S. Andreae
„ [25.] S. Cucufatis	Dec. 9. S. Leocadiae
Aug. 1. S. Felicis et Maccab. ²	„ 10. S. Eulaliae
„ 6. SS. Justae et Pastoris	„ 18. S. Mariae Virginis
„ 10. S. Laurenti	„ 25. Nativ. Domini
„ 11. S. Hippolyti	„ 26. S. Stephani
Sept. 14. S. Cypriani	„ 27. S. Eugeniae
„ 24. Decoll. S. Joh. Bapt.	„ 29. S. Johannis, Ap. & E.
	„ 31. S. Columbae

¹ Title lost through lacuna in MS.

² Maccabees mentioned only in three Collects at Mattins.

³ The names of these saints noted but nothing proper appointed.

IV

THE BREVIARY AT MILAN

THE choir services of the Ambrosian rite may be studied in the Breviary which is in use to-day throughout the greater part of the province of Milan : but two books in particular (amongst others) have been edited by the Very Rev. Marco Magistretti, D.D., Canon of Milan Cathedral, which take us back to the earliest sources available for their study, and show us both the ritual and the ceremonial of the services as they were in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The more important of these books are *Manuale Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1905), vols. ii and iii of a series *Monumenta veteris liturgiae Ambrosianae*, vol. i of which consists of the most ancient MS. Pontifical. This Manuale is not at all the same thing as the Sarum and other mediaeval Manualia : this book contains (besides the Psalter and Kalendar) a description of the various services, giving the various items (or their *incipits*) in the order in which they were said, and in many cases the persons by whom these items are to be recited or sung ; and it must have been a most convenient and necessary work before the days of *missalia plenaria* and *breviaria*, when the service-books consisted of the Psalter, the Anti-

phoners, the *rotulus* of the Collects, the Sacramentary, and the books which contained the lessons. Dr. Magistretti has prefixed to the first volume of the *Manuale* a series of excerpts from other related Ambrosian MS. service-books, and a learned dissertation which tells us practically all that is actually known concerning the most ancient forms of these services and the chief alterations—not many nor important—which have taken place in them since the twelfth century.

Dr. Magistretti had previously published an edition of another work, *Beroldus, sive ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis Kalendarium et ordines, saec. XII* (Milan, 1894), which does for the Ambrosian rite what the various *Ordines Romani* do for the Roman, giving an outline of the ceremonial observances and a good amount of the ritual also.

These two books are indispensable for the study of the Ambrosian rite, and they are examples of the most useful kind of books for the study of the history and development of any rite : they describe for us the details of the services when they were in full vigour, and at a period when a considerable part of the ancient spirit (and even the ancient arrangements) remained ; and if we would fain hark back to a still earlier period and inquire what the Ambrosian services were like in earlier ages, we can only remind ourselves that no earlier information (or practically none) is forthcoming, and be thankful that these books provide us with such full and accurate information about them at the date to which they refer.

It will be convenient to give a description of the services of the present Breviary, noting at the same time various alterations which have been made in them since the twelfth century, and afterwards attempting a conjectural restoration (so far as is possible) of their original shape. For this purpose the Nocturn and Vesper-services for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost will be given, and the Vesper-service for the Nativity of St. John Baptist will be added to show the striking difference between the Vespers of saints' days and the ordinary Vespers. The Nocturn-service for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost is as follows :—

NOCTURNS

Introduction. O God, make speed to save us.
R. O Lord, make haste to help us. Glory be, etc. As it was, etc. Hallelujah.

Hymn. *Aeterne rerum conditor.*

† *Respond.* For the Lord is a great God ; O come and let us worship. *V.* O come and let us sing unto the Lord ; let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and show ourselves glad in him with psalms. O come and let us worship.

Benedictus es. i.e. first part of the Song of the Three Children (*v.* 29, etc.), with *v.* 29 as antiphon.

Canticle I. Is. xxvi. 9–20, with antiphon.

Canticle II. 1 Sam. ii. 1–10.

Canticle III. Jonah ii. 2–9 [in winter Hab. iii. 2–19, instead] with antiphon. The antiphon at the end of each canticle is followed by *Kyrie eleison* three times, which is usually written Kyr. Kyr. Kyr., or K.K.K.

† *Three Lessons* then follow, each preceded by a benediction. These might be more exactly described as *one lesson in three parts*, except when the third lesson is different from the others, as will be described presently.

† *Two Responds* separate the lessons.

Te Deum is added on Sundays and festivals (except in Advent and Lent). There is never a third Respond, even when there is no *Te Deum*.

A Collect concludes the whole when Lauds does not follow immediately, but is omitted when Lauds is said without a pause.

LAUDS

Introduction. As at Nocturns.

Benedictus. With antiphon and K.K.K.

† *Antiphon 'ad crucem.'* Said five (sometimes seven) times as follows : 'O Lord God, hear the prayer of thy people, and deliver us not into destruction : since thou art merciful, hear and deliver us, and tarry not. K.K.K. O Lord God, etc. . . . not. K.K.K. O Lord God, etc. . . . not. Glory be to . . . Holy Ghost. O Lord God, etc. . . . not. As it was . . . end. Amen. O Lord, etc. . . . not. K.K.K.'

Secret Collect A. 'O God, who by the leadership of thy servant Moses, didst vouchsafe to deliver thy heavily oppressed people from the Egypt of darkness, grant that we also thy servants, being freed from the darkness of this world, may enter into the rest promised to the fathers. Through Jesús Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God for ever and ever. Amen.'

Song of Moses. Ex. xv. 1-19, with antiphon, and K.K.K.

Secret Collect B. 'O God, who, when the three children were cast into the fiery furnace, didst vouchsafe to be thyself the fourth; who canst command the nature of flame, and extinguish the fire of temptation; extend to us thy power to guard and deliver our souls. Through, etc. . . . Amen.' [Surely this is an error, however ancient, for 'Who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God for ever and ever. Amen.']

Song of the Three Children. The ordinary Benedicite (v. 35, etc.), with antiphon and K.K.K.

† *Collect I* (in Lent three Collects). 'O God, the true light of the faithful, O God, the everlasting glory of the just, whose light goeth not out, whose splendour knows no end; grant that we may live in thy glory, and may enter into the light of thy eternity; so that as thou hast made light to dawn upon us after the night, thou mayest cause us to attain to that blessed and eternal day. Through, etc.'

Laudes. i.e. Psalms 148, 149, 150, and 116,¹ under one Gloria and antiphon, with K.K.K.

¹ The numeration of the Psalms is given as they are given in

Before the repetition of the antiphon the following 'Capitulum' is inserted:—Sing unto the Lord a new song: praise him in the congregation of the saints.

† *Hymn.* *Splendor Paternae gloriae.*

Kyrie eleison. Twelve times.

† *Psallenda I.* 'Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised; he hath delivered us for ever. Glory be, etc. Great is the Lord . . . ever.'

Complenda I. 'The Lord hath prepared his seat in heaven; his kingdom ruleth over all. K.K.K.'

Collect II. 'Look, we beseech thee, O Lord, upon our infirmities, and in thy love speedily help us. Through our Lord, etc.'

the Vulgate, that being the numeration followed in the Ambrosian Breviary, and indeed throughout both East and West. The number of a Psalm is always one less in the Vulgate than in the English, with the following exceptions:—

Pss. 1-8, and 148-150 are the same in both.

Ps. 9 Vulgate = Pss. 9 and 10 English.

Ps. 113 " = Pss. 114 and 115 "

Pss. 114 and 115 " = Ps. 116 "

Pss. 146 and 147 " = Ps. 147 "

- † *Psallenda II.* ‘We have sinned against thee, O God ; have mercy upon us : ere we perish, deliver us by thy hand. Glory be, etc. . . . We have, etc. . . .’
- Complenda II.* ‘The majesty of the Lord our God be upon us. K.K.K.’
- Collect III.* ‘Let the voice of our supplications ascend to thine ears, O God, and let thy mercy wait upon us. Through, etc.’
- Conclusion.* ‘The Lord be with you. *R.* And with thy spirit. K.K.K.
May God bless us and hear us.
R. Amen.
Let us proceed in peace. *R.* In the name of Christ.
Bless ye the Lord. *R.* Thanks be to God.
Our Father (*secreto*). And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. The Holy Trinity bless us and keep us always. *R.* Amen.
May the souls of the faithful, through the mercy of God, rest in peace. *R.* Amen.’

In the MSS. the services called later *Nocturns* and *Lauds* are treated as one service, which is called *ad Matutinum* : there is no *Te Deum* (in this place) nor

Collect following, nor any introductory Versicles at 'Lauds.'

In the above † is prefixed to those parts of the service which are variable. These vary in different ways : as, for example, the Lessons are different for each day in the year, whilst the Respond after the hymn has not so many varieties. During the ordinary part of the year there are six Responds, which are assigned to the six days of the week, and are repeated every week, the Sunday Respond after Pentecost having two varieties, which are said on alternate Sundays. At other times the Sunday Respond is different for every Sunday. The Respond on the *odd* Sundays (after Pentecost) is that given above ; that on the *even* Sundays is as follows : 'The Lord the great King : O come and let us worship. *V.* O come let us sing unto the Lord ; let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation. O come, let us worship.' The hymn *Æterne rerum* is said daily throughout the year.

In the above, Collect I, when variable, is the *Oratio super populum* of the Mass of the day, which corresponds to the *Oratio missae* of the Roman Mass : but after Pentecost this Collect is always the same and is printed in the Psalter. The Psalms used as *Psalmi directi*¹ will be given presently. Until the reform of St. Carlo Borromeo (sixteenth century) *Gloria in excelsis*, with a set of succeeding Versicles and *Gloria et honor Patri*, etc., was sung

¹ *Psalmus directus*, i.e. a Psalm said straight through without any antiphon or refrain. On ordinary Sundays, Psalm 92.

between the *Psalmus directus* and the hymn. The service proper ends with the twelve kyries. The *Psallendae* and *Complendae* will be explained presently. The weekday Nocturn-service differs from that on Sundays by the substitution for the three Canticles of ten Psalms, said in three groups, each group under one antiphon.

The Lord's Prayer and following items are evidently a very late addition, since they come after the concluding formula of the service—like the 'last Gospel' in the Roman Mass of to-day.

On weekdays Lauds is as follows :—

Introduction. As on Sunday.

Benedictus. As on Sunday, with antiphon and K.K.K.

{	<i>Secret Collect.</i>	Six varieties, for the days of the week.
	<i>Miserere.</i>	(= Psalm 50) with antiphon and K.K.K. (but on Saturday, Psalm 117 instead).

† *Collect of the day.*

{	<i>Laudes.</i>	(Psalms 148–150, 116) as on Sunday.
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† *Psalmus directus.* Six varieties for the six weekdays.

Hymn. *Splendor Paternae gloriae.*

Kyrie eleison. Twelve times.

† { *Respond in the baptistery.* Six varieties for the days of the week.

{ *Collect in the baptistery.*

† { *Four-versed Psalm.* With antiphon.

{ *Complenda.*

† { *Collect.*

Conclusion. As on Sundays.

The ferial office '*per annum*'¹ varies (practically) only with the days of the week, but in the Sunday office the Antiphon to *Benedictus*, the Antiphon *ad crucem*, the Collect of the day, and the *Psallendae* vary each Sunday (except as before noted for the Collect of the day); and the hymn varies as in the Roman rite, except that there is a much smaller variety of hymns in the Ambrosian. The *Psallendae* are Responds.

On every weekday in Lent, except Saturdays, eight verses of Psalm 118 are said between the Collects of the day and the *Laudes*. Until the fourteenth century this custom was confined to the cathedral, as was natural, since it was intended for the benefit of the *competentes* who were attending the services in the cathedral in preparation for baptism.

¹ *i.e.* after Epiphany and Pentecost.

VESPERS

- † *Lucernarium* (the ordinary one). ‘For thou, O Lord, dost light my candle ; lighten my darkness, O my God. *V.* For in thee shall I be taken out of temptation. Lighten my darkness, O my God.’
- † *Antiphon in quire* (on Sundays). ‘I will praise the Lord, and call upon his name ; so shall I be safe from mine enemies.’
- † *Hymn.* *Deus Creator omnium.*
- † *Respond in quire.* ‘O Lord, show thy goodness towards me, since thou wilt save me though unworthy ; and all the days of my life will I praise thee. *V.* For all the strength of heaven shall praise thee, and thine is the glory for ever and ever. And all . . . thee.’
- † *Five Psalms.* Pss. 109–113, each with antiphon.
- † *Collect I.* ‘Look down, O Lord, from the lofty seat of thy majesty, and with a ray of thy glory lighten the darkness of the gloomy night, wipe out of the mind of each one the vain sleep of mistrust ; remove far away the sins of darkness from the sons of light. Through Jesus Christ, etc. Amen.’

Magnificat (with antiphon). 'Show strength, O Lord, with thine arm ; scatter the proud and exalt the humble.'

Collect II. 'O God, who hast wrought salvation in the earth, with whom there is no darkness, but the night is as clear as the day ; enlighten, we pray thee, our darkness, that we may pass a quiet and peaceful night, and may arise in the morning to sing thy praise. Through Jesus Christ, etc. Amen.'

† *Psallenda I.* 'Incline thine ear unto me and save me ; O Lord, be thou mine help. Glory be, etc. Incline thine ear . . . help.'

Complenda I. 'Thy kingdom, O Lord, Hallelujah ; and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations. Hallelujah, Hallelujah.'

Complenda II. 'Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers, praised and glorious for evermore. K.K.K.'

Collect III. 'O God, the strength of the faithful, the life and resurrection of the dead, grant to thy faithful perseverance, and restore to us the gifts of salvation. Through, etc.'

- † *Psallenda II.* 'My sins, O Lord, are fixed in me like arrows; heal me by the medicine of penitence before they produce wounds. Glory be . . . etc. My sins . . . wounds.'
- Complenda I.* 'Since thou, O Lord my God, dost light my candle, enlighten my darkness.'
- Complenda II.* 'Blessed art thou, etc.' (as above).
- † *Collect IV.* 'Let our mouth, O Lord, be filled with joy, and let it exult in thy mercy. Through Jesus Christ, etc. Amen.'

Conclusion. As at Lauds.

The *Lucernarium* or Respond at the lighting of the lamps is very similar to the Mozarabic *Lucernarium*.¹ The Roman introductory versicles are absent, but 'The Lord be with you. R. And with thy spirit,' is said at the beginning of the service, and also before each member of the service, viz. before the Antiphon in the quire, before the hymn, before the Respond, before the Psalms, [before the *Magnificat* ?], and before each Collect and *Psallenda*. The spelling Hallelujah appears to be modern, as it is not used in the *Manuale*. During the principal part of the year Collect I is the *Oratio super populum*,

¹ [cf. *Peregr. Eth.*: hora decima quod appellant hic (*i.e.* at Jerusalem) licinicon (= λυχνικόν) nam nos dicimus lucernare, where 'nos' means in Spain or Gaul, *c.* 390.—ED.]

and Collect II the *Oratio super sindonem* from the Mass of the day.

There is, however, as has been said above, a remarkable difference in the Vespers of saints' days and some other holy days, which may be exhibited by giving as an example the Vespers for the Nativity of St. John Baptist. The significance of this difference will be referred to presently.

Lucernarium. 'I have ordained a lantern for mine Anointed; as for his enemies I shall clothe them with shame; but upon himself shall his crown flourish. *V.* Lord, remember David, and all his trouble. Upon himself, etc. . . . flourish. I have ordained . . . flourish.'

† *Hymn.* *Nostrae salutis Nuncio.*

† *Respond with the children [of the quire].* 'Before I formed thee in the womb I knew thee, and before thou camest forth I sanctified thee; I have appointed thee for a prophet unto the nations. Before . . . nations. *V.* The Lord put forth his hand and touched me, and said unto me, I have appointed thee . . . nations.'

† { *Psalm I* (with Ps. 127, together with 133, 116, antiphon and under one Gloria and antiphon. K.K.K.). Antiphon: 'They were both righteous before the Lord, walking in all his commandments.'

† *Collect I.* ‘O God, who hast caused this day to be honoured by us as the Nativity of blessed John ; grant to thy people the grace of spiritual joy ; and direct the minds of all the faithful into the ways of salvation and peace. Through Jesus Christ, etc. Amen.’

Psalm II (with antiphon and K.K.K.). Ps. 115. Antiphon : ‘The Lord called me by my name from my mother’s womb.’

† *Collect II.* ‘We pray thee, O Lord, let the glorious prayer of blessed John the Baptist accompany us, and may it dispose him whose coming he foretold to accept us graciously. Who with thee, etc. Amen.’

Magnificat (with antiphon and K.K.K.). ‘As soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.’

† *Collect III.* ‘O God, who in thy providence didst destine blessed John the Baptist to prepare a perfect people for Christ the Lord ; grant us, we pray thee, that thy servants, through the intercession of this herald, may cast off all their sins, and may find him of whom he prophesied. Who livest, etc. Amen.’

- † *Psallenda I.* 'Greater than the prophets and less than the angels is he who prepared the hearts of the faithful. Glory be, etc. Greater than the . . . faithful.'
- † *Complenda I.* 'Thy saints are alway praising thee, O God ; they are alway telling of the glory of thy kingdom. Hallelujah, Hallelujah.'
- † *Complenda II.* 'Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers, blessed and glorious for evermore. K.K.K.'
- † *Collect IV.* 'Almighty and everlasting God, grant that our hearts may always follow that straight highway of thy paths which the voice of John Baptist crying in the wilderness taught us. Through, etc.'
- Conclusion.* As at Lauds.

The arrangement of the Psalms in the weekday Nocturn-office is as follows : the first part of the Psalter (Pss. 1-108) is assigned for use at the Nocturn-service, so that it shall be gone through *every fortnight* in the following order :—

FIRST WEEK.				SECOND WEEK.			
Mon.	Pss. 1-16.	Decuria	I	Mon.	Pss. 61-70.	Decuria	VI
Tues.	„ 17-30.	„	II	Tues.	„ 71-80.	„	VII
Wed.	„ 31-40.	„	III	Wed.	„ 81-90.	„	VIII
Thurs.	„ 41-50.	„	IV	Thurs.	„ 91-100.	„	IX
Fri.	„ 51-60.	„	V	Fri.	„ 101-108.	„	X

Saturday and Sunday do not assist in the recita-

tion of the Psalter, except as regards Ps. 118. In the Nocturns of these days we find instead :—

Saturday of first week. Ex. xv. 1-19, first half of Ps. 118 in two parts.

Saturday of second week. Ex. xv. 1-19, second half of Ps. 118 in two parts.¹

Sunday (winter). Is. xxvi. 9-20, 1 Sam. ii. 1-10, Hab. iii. 2-19.

Sunday (summer). „ „ Jonah ii.
2-9.

The rest of the Psalter is assigned to Vespers, but instead of following a fortnightly arrangement similar to that of the Nocturns, the Gregorian system is taken over bodily, without even that adaptation which would be necessary to make it dovetail properly into the existing Ambrosian arrangement. The Gregorian arrangement is as follows: Psalms 117, 118, 133, 142, 148, 149, 150 being taken out, there are left thirty-five Psalms in the latter part of the Psalter (Pss. 109-150). These are apportioned to the seven days of the week, giving five Psalms to each day, beginning with Sunday. The omitted Psalms are accounted for (in the Ambrosian rite) as follows: Ps. 117 is said at Lauds on Saturday, Ps. 118 at Nocturns on Saturday, Ps. 133 at Complin daily, Pss. 148, 149, 150 at Lauds daily. Ps. 142 *is not recited at all* in the ordinary course! This strange omission is due to the blind way in which this part of the Gregorian arrangement was adopted, in that rite the Psalm was omitted at Ves-

¹ In earlier times the whole of Ps. 118 was said every Saturday during the winter (see *Manuale*, p. 54).

pers because it was already assigned to Lauds on Fridays : but in the Ambrosian rite the Psalms at Lauds are quite different (see above) ; hence the omission becomes a glaring blot, which shows clearly that the present arrangement of the Psalms at Vespers was not originally Ambrosian, or from a source common to both Gregorian and Ambrosian systems, but has been imported into the Ambrosian rite from the Roman.

The *psalmi directi* are an interesting feature. The ordinary arrangement of these is as follows :—

		Sun.	Mon.	Tu.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.
PSALMUS	{ <i>Lauds</i>	92	53	66	69	112	142	89
DIRECTUS.	{ <i>Vespers</i>	None						
FOUR-VERSED	{ <i>Lauds</i>	—	5	87	66	62	107	88 (1st week)
		—	83	87	66	62	107	88 (2nd week)
PSALM.	{ <i>Vespers</i>	—	8	14	30	36	74	91 (both weeks)

In Lent, Psalm 90 is said as *psalmus directus* at Vespers daily, except Sunday, Friday and Saturday. At the same season the four-versed Psalms at Lauds are—in the *odd* weeks, 83, 87, etc., and in the *even* weeks, 5, 87, etc.—except that on Saturday in the *odd* weeks the twelfth division of Psalm 118 is said, and in the *even* weeks the first division of the same Psalm—and on Sundays the four-versed Psalms are as follows : First week, 69 ; second week, 62 ; third week, 101 ; fourth week, 62 ; fifth week, 62 ; sixth week, 58. The four-versed Psalms at Vespers in Lent follow an entirely different arrangement, which, except on Saturdays and Sundays, bears an obvious resemblance to the selection of the Psalms for the Lenten services in the Mozarabic rite—it is

as if one went through the Psalter picking out the suitable Psalms in order. The arrangement is as follows :—

	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.
1st week.	69	7	8	10	12	—	91
2nd „	103	14	15	18	25	—	91
3rd „	101	28	29	30	32	—	91
4th „	101	34	36	40	42	—	91
5th „	69	45	46	74	75	—	28

On Palm Sunday, Psalm 58 (as at Lauds), and on Saturday evening before the first Sunday, Psalm 91. In Holy Week there are *no* four-versed Psalms, and at Vespers (of course) no *psalmi directi* either.

The services for the lesser hours are at bottom the same as the Roman, with some unimportant differences ; and the arrangement of Psalms is practically the same.

What differences do we find in the services of the present rite when compared with the *Manuale Ambrosianum* and *Beroldus* ? Nothing of very great importance. In the earlier rite there was no *Te Deum* (nor Collect following) at Nocturns, there was no division between what were called later Mattins and Lauds, and no introductory versicles before ‘Lauds,’ but the whole is treated as one service. The section from Psalm 118 after the *Laudes* in Lent was used originally only in the cathedrals. *Gloria in excelsis* with following versicles was recited between the *psalmus directus* and the hymn. No festival had any ‘second Vespers’ except Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension

Day, Pentecost and the Feast of the Dedication, and also all Sundays, which have no first Vespers.

In the older form of the rite there was also a special kind of Vigil-service, which was said on the patronal festivals of certain local saints in their own titular churches only, a service of a very interesting character. In the twelfth century the clergy of the cathedral after Tierce went in procession to the church of the saint whose festival was to be kept, singing a litany. As they entered, *Kyrie eleison* was sung, followed by *Agnus Dei*, *Gloria Patri*, and a repetition of *Kyrie eleison*. Then the Archbishop began *Deus in adjutorium*, etc., which was followed by *Te Deum*¹ and *Dominus vobiscum*. The whole Psalter was then sung through in three sections of fifty Psalms each, with two lessons from the life of the saint (each followed by a Respond) after the 50th and 100th Psalms respectively. Upon the conclusion of the Psalter followed immediately the Mass of the Vigil, and after that the (first) Vespers of the festival. A set of Collects (from a roll which was used on various occasions) was used with the Psalms, from which (comparing this service with one to be mentioned presently) we may probably infer that the Psalter was further divided into sets of ten Psalms, and that one Collect was used after each of these sets of ten Psalms.²

¹ There is no record of any other use of *Te Deum* in the ancient Ambrosian rite.

² In Pitra, *Juris eccl. Graec. hist. et monum.*, I, p. 220, § 17, will be found the description of a *pervigilium* at the monastery on Mount Sinai in which the whole Psalter was recited in three

It is fairly evident that (as is the case with Vigils generally) this service originally occupied *the night* with which the festival began, and not the previous day, and that the Mass of the Vigil would be sung in the early morning of the festival. The Vespers

nocturns of fifty Psalms each. After supper were recited Psalms 4, 6, 12, 24, 30, 90, and *Pater noster* (which appears equivalent to the Byzantine Complin). Then the first fifty Psalms with *Pater noster* and *Kyrie*, after which the Epistle of St. James was read. Then followed Psalms 51 to 100 with (?) *Pater noster* and *Kyrie* and the First Epistle of St. Peter. Then Psalms 101 to 150, followed by *Pater noster*, *Kyrie*, and the First Epistle of St. John. Next came [Lauds viz.] the nine odes, *Pater noster* and *Kyrie* [? after the third and sixth as well as the ninth ode] and Psalms 148 to 150, *Gloria in excelsis* with versicles, the [Nicene] Creed, *Pater noster*, *Kyrie* and concluding Collect (see Bäumer, *Hist. of Brev.*, tr. Biron, I, p. 182).

Several of the ancient MSS. Psalters which remain exhibit such a division; e.g. the Southampton (Irish) Psalter (St. John's Coll., Camb., C 9) has canticles after Psalms 50, 100 and 150, with elaborate initials to Psalms 51 and 101: the British Museum Psalter (Irish), Vit. F. xi, is very similar: the Bosworth Psalter (English), British Museum Add. 37517, and the Irish Psalter, British Museum, Tib. C vi, have elaborate initials for Psalms 51 and 101, but also for Psalm 109, and no canticles after Psalms 50 and 100.

The following passage from St. Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. cl.*, § 3) shows that he was familiar with the threefold division of the Psalter: 'sive ergo illud sive hoc intelligatur quod dictum est, In capite libri, liber iste psalmorum per quinquagenos, si per ipsos quadragenarios articulos interrogetur magnum aliquid et valde dignum consideratione respondet. Non enim frustra mihi videtur quinquagesimus esse de poenitentia, centesimus de misericordia et iudicio, centesimus quinquagesimus de laude Dei in sanctis eius.' Cassiodorus (*Institutio*, c. iv) speaks of the use which he made of St. Augustine's *Enarrations* on the Psalms: 'ex quibus iam duas decadas, Domino praestante, collegi.' Cassiodorus is further

would be used, if at all, only in other churches where the Vigil was not kept.

But we must endeavour to get behind the twelfth century, and to discover (if possible) the original plan and form of the services. What can be ac-

quoted by Dom J. Chapman (in his notes on the early history of the Vulgate Gospels, pp. 34 footnote) as speaking (in the preface to his own commentary) of the division of the Psalms into fifteen decads, as follows: 'quocirca memor infirmitatis meae mare ipsius quorundam psalmorem fontibus profusum divina misericordia largiente in rivulos vadosos compendiosa brevitae deduxi: uno codice tam diffusa complectens quae ille in decadas quindecim mirabiliter explicavit'; and he continues: "Of this ancient (but not original) division the Benedictine editors found traces in three MSS. only, one of which was entitled 'Incipit liber decadae domini Augustini a psalmo *Beatus vir* usque li'; a second in which, after the 40th Psalm, was subjoined 'Beati Augustini episcopi finit decada de libro primo'; and a third at the end of which was written the verse 'Ter quinis decadis grande peregit opus.'"

The following interesting extract from the *Book of Leinster* is given by Dr. MacCarthy, *On the Stowe Missal* (trans. of R. Irish Acad., vol. xxvii (vii), p. 183): 'At celebrating nocturn in his church. I will recite in the first place, quoth a man of them, the three fifties [*i.e.* 150 Psalms] each day, with celebration of my hours and with mass each day. I will recite moreover, quoth another, their fifty prayers with celebration of my hours and with mass each day. I will recite also, quoth the third man, their fifty *Ymnium dicat* each day with celebration of my hours and with mass each day.' *Ymnium dicat* are the first words of a hymn attributed to St. Hilary of Poitiers, see *Antiphoner of Bangor* (II, p. 3, H.B.S.), and *Irish Liber Hymn.* (II, pp. 125 ff., H.B.S.).

For further traces of the division into three fifties see the eleventh century Psalter Harl. 863, as described in *Leofric Col-lectar* (App., p. 433, H.B.S.) and *Psalter of Ricemarsb* (pp. 118 f. of vol. ii in H.B.S. edn.).

complished in this direction? In the first place there do not appear to have been in the original rite any services for the lesser hours. It has been already observed that the existing services for these hours are simply borrowed from the Roman rite, and St. Ambrose appears to bear witness to the fact that in his time there were no regular services except Vespers, Mattins and Mass. Dr. Magistretti refers to St. Ambrose, *de Virginibus*, III. iv. 18.

Secondly, the whole system of lessons now included in the nocturn-service is no part of the original Ambrosian rite, but has been imported from outside. A slight examination will show that it is merely an imitation of the lesson-system of the Roman and Benedictine Breviaries, and has been tacked on (rather clumsily) to the Ambrosian services. These had originally no lessons at Nocturns, but possessed instead a very interesting system of lessons which have never been printed in their entirety.

Again, it is impossible to believe that the present arrangement of the Psalter for use at Nocturns and Vespers can be the original arrangement. For the course at Mattins occupies a fortnight, the course at Vespers occupies a week. From the part of the Psalter used at Vespers, Psalms are omitted which are to be said at the lesser hours, whilst in the part of the Psalter assigned to Mattins no account is taken of the use of any of these Psalms at the lesser hours. It has already been observed that the arrangement of the Psalms at Vespers is identical with the Roman arrangement and is

evidently borrowed from it: and this is demonstrated conclusively by the fact that (as before stated) Psalm 142 has been omitted from the course altogether!

What, then, was the original arrangement? There is no reason to doubt the originality of the arrangement by which ten Psalms are said at Mattins every day except Saturday and Sunday; and if this arrangement were followed consistently through the whole of the Psalter, we should have a very symmetrical arrangement for a three-week's course, viz.—ten Psalms each day, except Saturday and Sunday, *i.e.* fifty Psalms each week of the course.

Again, while the arrangement of Psalms at Vespers on ordinary days is identical with the Roman arrangement, this is not the case on all days. On saints' days instead of the Roman *five* Psalms from the course, *two* Psalms are said instead, and these are *selected* for their suitability to the feast. Again, in Holy Week and Easter Week there is a similar use of Psalms, except that in this case only *one* Psalm is used. Now this part of the Ambrosian rite must also be original since no foreign source can be pointed out. Moreover, the framework of Vespers on ordinary days is genuinely Ambrosian, and the use of *two* (selected) Psalms for daily Vespers would fit in exactly with this framework of the service—the first Psalm in place of the Roman five Psalms, and the second in place of *Magnificat*; and this plan would suit exactly with an arrangement by which the whole Psalter would be said at Mattins in some such a course as that which we

have described, viz. ten Psalms each day (except Saturday and Sunday) for three weeks.

If this were the original arrangement it is easy to account for the anomalies in the present arrangement of *decuriae*. When Psalms 109–147 were taken away from Mattins and assigned to Vespers, the third week of the course had to be abolished; but what was to be done with Psalms 101–108? These were made into a (so-called) *decuria*, and room was found for this in the second week by compressing the first three *decuriae* into two, and moving up the following *decuriae* in order, so as to leave room for Psalms 101–108 in the place of the tenth *decuria*, viz. on Friday of the second week.

This hypothesis as to the original Ambrosian arrangement of the Psalter receives a striking confirmation from an old office for the dead which survived in certain religious houses till at least the thirteenth century.¹ The corpse was watched and a vigil kept all through the night, with the recitation of the whole Psalter in the following manner. The Psalter was divided into three nocturns (called '*turmae*' according to the Ambrosian custom), each of fifty Psalms. At the end of each nocturn the brethren who had been occupied in singing it were relieved by another set of brethren who sang the next nocturn, and each nocturn (of fifty Psalms) was divided up into groups of ten psalms, each group sung under one antiphon and

[¹ See Magistretti's *Dissertatio*, pp. 67 ff. in vol. i, and compare *Excerpta*, pp. 85 ff., also in vol. i and pp. 479 ff. of vol. ii.—ED.]

followed by a Respond and a Collect from the customary roll.

Here we find a division of the Psalter precisely similar to that which seemed to be pointed out as probably the original method of dividing the Psalms for the daily nocturn-service. The same method of division seems to have been used also for the Vigil-service on the patronal and titular festivals of certain local saints (see p. 118), and there appear to be no good reason for doubting that in both cases this method of dividing the Psalter simply followed the traditional method of apportioning it among the ordinary nocturn-services.¹

It seems, therefore, a very probable conclusion that the original Ambrosian course, which was the arrangement of St. Ambrose himself,² consisted of a nocturn (or vigil as it was then called) of ten Psalms on each day (except Saturdays and Sundays): and so the 'course' would then have extended over three weeks instead of, as at present, over a fortnight.³ This arrangement would leave no Psalms for the nocturn-services of Saturday and Sunday. O.T. Canticles have been brought in to fill up the gap (as well as Psalm 118, which was no doubt soon found to be inconveniently long when

¹ The Psalter was probably divided by the Jews into three fifties for a triennial cycle (Dr. Edwd. G. King in *J. T. S.*, v. 203). This view is endorsed by Dr. H. St. J. Thackeray (*J. T. S.*, xvi, 197), who thinks the arrangement earlier than the division into five books.

² See for this pp. 127 f. further on.

³ The course was originally *at night* only according to Batiffol, *Hist. du Br. Rom.*, pp. 30 ff.

said as one Psalm in the nocturn-service of an ordinary day). But what was done previously on these days? And why were no nocturns provided for them in the original scheme? Was the whole Psalter said on both (or either) of these nights as in the Vigil-service for certain patron-saints described on p. 118? Or was the Psalter divided between these two nights each week as in the Rule of St. Columban? Or were the ancient secular Vigil-services retained, consisting of lessons with selected Responds or Canticles, similar to the present service of the Vigil of Easter? Such long vigils seem inconsistent with St. Ambrose's plan of *lessons*, and we should expect to find a survival somewhere (*e.g.* in Lent). None of these solutions is more than a possibility. Let us hope that in the future some light may be thrown upon the question.

In the ordinary Vesper-service there would be two selected Psalms in place of the five Roman Psalms and *Magnificat* respectively. As I have shown further on, it appears to me that the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Vespers (and Lauds) are of identical origin, and there is no *Magnificat* in either the Mozarabic Vespers or in Isidore's description. There is much probability that the *Lucernarium* and these two Psalms are the original elements of both the Ambrosian and of the Mozarabic Vespers. The additional antiphons and Responds have evidently the character of enrichments added to the original services; and the invaluable *Manuale* shows us that several of them were not elements of

what may be called the general rite, but in origin merely special rites peculiar to the cathedral, though afterwards adopted—very likely with the copying of the cathedral service-books—by other churches of the rite. In all rites the antiphoner can have no origin except as the chant-book of one particular *schola cantorum*: and all service-books began as the service-books of a particular bishop or church or quire, the use of which was afterwards extended to the other churches of the diocese or province or patriarchate.

In the Ambrosian rite the antiphons *in choro* and the Responds must have originated with the cathedral *schola cantorum*: and the *antiphona ad crucem* was an antiphon sung at a small oratory in the cathedral called ‘the cross,’ and therefore peculiar to that church; the Responds ‘in the baptistery’ would not be possible in the other churches, which in early times had no baptisteries, since all baptisms were celebrated at the cathedral; the parts of Psalm 118 sung at Lauds in Lent were for the benefit of the competents, who were all assembled at the cathedral; the *Psallendae*, *Complendae*, and four-versed Psalms were also peculiar to the cathedral. The *Manuale* gives us the clue to the meaning and use of these forms, which seem at first so curiously complicated. There were at Milan two baptisteries, the baptistery of St. John for males (now converted into the church of St. Gotardo), and the baptistery of St. Stephen for females, which was on the north side of the cathedral, and at about the same distance, but has now entirely dis-

appeared.¹ After the conclusion of Vespers proper with the twelve *Kyries*, the quire went in procession to the baptistery of St. John, singing on Sundays the first *Psallenda* (which was eked out by means of the *Complendae*), and this was concluded by the Collect. In Easter Week the Respond in the baptistery² followed; the quire then proceeded from St. John to St. Stephen, singing a Psalm with its antiphon, of which *four verses* were sufficient to occupy the distance; another Collect followed, said at the second baptistery, and the procession returned to the cathedral singing the second *Psallenda* (with the addition of *Complendae*). A final Collect and the usual concluding Versicles were said at the cathedral altar.

The Breviary as we have it (and of course the *Manuale*, etc.) gives us the services of the cathedral's quire: and it is interesting to note how (in this case as in others) a series of services which were originally peculiar to one church³ have been adopted by or imposed upon a whole diocese or province, without any adaptation to the different circumstances.

It is known that the Nocturns were introduced by St. Ambrose; for we are told by Paulinus (*Vita S. Ambrosii*, c. IV, § 13): 'Hoc in tempore primum antiphonae, hymni ac vigiliae in ecclesia

¹ [See Magistretti's notes to *Beroldus*, pp. 170 f.—ED.]

² In Easter Week the cathedral quire still go in procession *to the font* to sing this Respond.

The provision of *Psallendae*, etc., varied considerably; we give what appears to be the normal form.

³ See above, p. 126.

Mediolanensi celebrari coeperunt.' This almost certainly means the course of Psalms sung at daily Mattins; and there appears no good reason to doubt that the arrangement in '*decuriae*' in its original shape, is the actual arrangement of St. Ambrose himself; but what are we to say about the devotions now called Lauds and also about Vespers? It would appear that Vespers is older than St. Ambrose's day; for the Mozarabic and Ambrosian Vespers have been developed from the same original form, viz. a *Lucernarium* (Psalm) and two (other) Psalms; and that the metrical hymn is a later addition to the original service is shown by the different position of it in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic forms of the service; in the Ambrosian Vespers it is interpolated between the *Lucernarium* and the two Psalms: in the Mozarabic it is placed at the end of the Psalms. But the use of hymns was introduced (at Milan) by St. Ambrose; consequently the original norm of this service is older than St. Ambrose.

The original norm of that part of Mattins which is now called Lauds (in both the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites) consists of *Cantemus*, *Benedicite* and the *Laudes* (see Psalms 148-150)—though in the Mozarabic rite other Canticles are substituted for *Cantemus* out of Eastertide. The form of this service appears to have been modelled on the three Psalms of Vespers:¹ yet the existence of St.

¹ There can be little doubt that the original nucleus of this service was the recitation of Psalms 148-150. It seems to me that this custom probably had a monastic origin. See below, p. 131.

Ambrose's hymn for this service (*Splendor paternae gloriae*) seems to guarantee the existence of this service in St. Ambrose's time. A comparison of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Mattins seems to suggest the conclusion that St. Ambrose may have found at Milan a Mattin-service very similar to the original Mozarabic, consisting of three Psalms, and may have replaced the three Psalms which were the original element of the first part of the Mozarabic Mattins by his new system of *decuriae* by which (in imitation of monastic customs) the Psalter was said through in course.

There are several indications that neither Vespers nor Mattins was originally a daily service at the ordinary seasons in either the Mozarabic or Milanese rites of the first age. In the *Orationale Gothicum* Vespers, Mattins and Mass are appointed for each holy day in an exactly similar way, and even in the printed Breviary the outlines of daily Mattins and Vespers (at ordinary seasons) are sketched in with a very light hand; moreover, in the sixth and seventh centuries we find a whole series of Canons of Councils¹ insisting upon daily Mattins and Vespers—thus showing that the provision of these services for every day was of later introduction. In the Ambrosian services the poverty of the ordinary weekday services compared with those for Sundays and holy days suggests the same conclusion.

For the primitive norm of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Vespers we can find a very probable and

¹ See before, p. 68.

natural origin. Tertullian, describing the Agape, says :—

‘Our feast displays its meaning by its name. Among the Greeks the word means the same as our “dilectio” [love]. . . . Before reclining for the meal they taste first of prayer to God. . . . They feast, but as men who remember that even in the night-season their God must be adored : they converse, but as men who know that the Lord heareth them. After water for the hands and lights are brought, each as he is able from Holy Scriptures or of his own ability is called into the midst to sing unto God. . . . In like manner prayer closes the banquet. Then they go away.’¹

When the Agape died out, what became of this little ‘service’ that was held after it? It might have dropped with the Agape, but there is no reason for concluding that it did so drop, and when we find that a service of exactly similar structure was in existence not long after the Agape had ceased, it would be going out of the way to predicate a different origin for the latter. The character of the original norm of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Vespers (as we take this to be) corresponds exactly with Tertullian’s description of the ‘little service’

¹ *Coena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Id vocatur quod dilectio penes Graecos. . . . Non prius discumbitur quam oratio ad Deum praegustetur. . . . Ita saturantur ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum Deum sibi esse ; ita fabulantur, ut qui sciant Dominum audire. Post aquam manualet et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest provocatur in medium Deo canere ; . . . Aequae oratio convivium dirimit. Inde disceditur. . . . (Apol. c. xxxix.)*

which followed the Agape ; and their original use (on Sundays and festivals, and not daily) corresponds also with what we know of the custom of the Agape.¹

These considerations appear to afford good ground for belief in the genuineness of the services we have described and discussed. What we know of their history and the comparative features of other kindred rites supports them as ancient and authentic. One intelligible and consistent whole is exhibited by the facts as we know them. If the question is asked what was the character of the original secular services of the West, we make bold to suggest that the prototypes were these from which the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rather than the Roman services are descended. The Roman Breviary contains the services of the monks of Rome, naturally with modifications, but it tells us nothing as to the secular services which were swept away there by the advent of monasticism, and *a fortiori* nothing about the secular services of the rest of the Western Church. In the Mozarabic and (though modified) in the Ambrosian rites we find the legitimate descendants of those ancient services which come down to us from the very earliest ages of the Church, when they took their rise in connexion with that common banquet of the Christians, the very name of which was 'Love.'

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO ESSAY IV

The ceremonial with which the Lenten lections from Genesis and Proverbs, etc., were attended in

¹ See Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 60 ff.

the Duomo in the seventeenth century is thus described in the MS. *Caeremoniale* of Horace Casati, A.D. 1676¹ :—

On Sundays in Lent a sermon of St. Ambrose is chanted by a lector before the Chapter Mass, viz. I, *de Elia et ieiunio* (added by St. Charles Borromeo) : II, *de poenitentia* : III, *de fuga saeculi* : IV, *de Isaac et anima* : V, *de bono mortis* (all now much shortened).

On weekdays, after Tierce, the *sacerdos observator* says *Deus vobiscum* at the Epistle corner of the altar. Then the *lector maior* says *sequuntur libri Genesis* from the ambon, the priest blesses him and sits in the presbytery vested in cope. After the lesson the same lector in the same place chants the Psalm and R^z. Then the *lector minor* from the *locus cantorum* on the Gospel side reads the lesson from the Proverbs in the Gospel tone, the priest not blessing him. Then the priest goes to the midst before the altar and says the Collect in the ordinary tone, also the *Deus vobiscum*, etc., and *Benedicat et exaudiat*. The deacon says *Procedamus* in his stall. The priest goes to his stall after *Benedicamus Deo*.

Then Sexts is said.

After Nones, the ceremonial is the same, except that the *prior maceconicorum* and the rest of the *maceconici*² say the Psalm. After the Proverbs lection, Mass is celebrated by the *officialis* in a black

¹ [? 1616 as given by Magistretti, *Beroldus*, p. 165.—ED.]

² [Magistretti, *Beroldus*, p. 165, calls these *magistri scholarum*, but Ducange s.v. should be consulted : similar titles were not unknown elsewhere (e.g. in France).—ED.]

folded chasuble : he comes from the sacristy during the lection.

On Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany and antiphons are said as assigned after Tierce and the two lections, not in procession but before the altar.

On Fridays at Vespers after the *Rz* in *choro*, four lessons are sung with their Psalm and Collects by four lectors, each asking a blessing without any title. These are sung in the ferial lesson tone. After this come the Psalms, etc., of Vespers.

In Holy Week, after Tierce, the last deacon, with a girdle over his rochet and *fasciis saneis* wrapped round his head and shoulders in the sign of a cross, also in amice, red tunicle and stole over it,¹ goes from the sacristy to the ambon, where he reads the lesson² from Job in the Gospel tone, receiving the blessing from the celebrant. The *lector maior* says the *Rz* with the other lectors. Then the last deacon but one (similarly vested) reads from the ambon the lection from Tobit, and the whole is ended with the Collect and conclusion as before.

After Nones the ceremonial with other deacons is similar, and after the lesson from Tobit follows the Mass.

[Though this note has no direct bearing upon the matter dealt with in the essay to which it is appended, it is of sufficient interest to justify its insertion here. Several other notes of a some-

¹ In 1678 linen *fasciae* and tunicles were prohibited, but not the girdle nor the stole.

² See St. Ambrose, *Ep.* xx, *ad Marcellinum*.

what similar character are among Mr. Bishop's papers, but they are not complete enough to be included. Those most to be regretted deal with the system of lessons mentioned on p. 121, which he evidently intended to describe.—ED.]

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